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“LET US NOT THEREFORE JUDGE ONE ANOTHER ANY MORE: BUT JUDGE THIS  
RATHER, THAT NO MAN PUT A STUMBLING BLOCK, OR AN OCCASION TO FALL, IN HIS  
BROTHER'S WAY. LET NOT OUR GOOD BE EVIL SPOKEN OF.”


---

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## CONTENTS.

---

Ch. I.	p. 1.	General Principles of Union.
II.	8.	Charles II.'s Commission in 1661.—Preface to English and American Prayer Books.
III.	13.	Some general grounds for inquiry.
IV.	21.	Reasons against any hasty conduct of such an inquiry.
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VI.	30.	Import of the words "Church" and "Salvation."
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XII.	169.	General Questions, which might be debated before any Commissioners at this time.
XIII.	188.	American Church and Prayer Book.
XIV.	240.	Conclusion.



## CHAP. I.

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Ἔθνη ἀρχαῖα κρατεῖται.

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**ST. PAUL** besought the Ephesians to walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. There is one body, and one Spirit, even as they were and we now are called, in one hope of our calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in all Christians. Hence it is inferred, that the Church, as a body compacted in the Saviour, should be informed by His Spirit, and by that one Spirit only: so that, as the body and the spirit make up the man, the body and the spirit should make up the Church. And every individual member of the Church is therefore exhorted to take heed to himself, that he is governed by that same Spirit which should govern the whole Church, when he is exhorted to endeavour to keep the unity of the Church. The word “endeavour” may have been used, because an individual can only govern himself absolutely in one sense,

and “endeavour” to govern the Church. The means to make of one mind all the members of the Church, as prescribed here for our adoption, are not difficult Articles and Creeds which may possibly work exclusions and ill-will; but are the feelings which would most lead us far away from such conditions, and induce and enable us to bear with the ignorance of others, however painful and inexplicable to ourselves. And such feelings would keep them and us bound together, not by any formal professions of faith, not by any exercise of authority, direct or indirect, (for that had implied subjection or opposition,) but in the bond of peace. In our practice, whatever tends to raise dissension, or a notion of disunion, is to be avoided, if possible, in order that Christians may be bound together, and become of one body and one spirit, by means of this blessed peace.

When this peace is broken by dissent, when there exist divisions among Christians, it is not easy to determine which are they “who will not endure sound doctrine, and, having itching ears, are, after their own lusts, heaping to themselves teachers;” and which are they who will not endure, no, not for a moment, any departure from the pure and simple Gospel. But this difficulty must exist in every case: all that can be done, is, to provide the best remedies we may, for evils which it might else increase or create. And, on the other hand, it is not easy to discover what profit there may be to the Church of God, or even what profit there may be expected to the Church of God, that Church so dear to Him, that it was purchased with His own

blood, from persisting in laws which are not now considered essential, whatever they may have been considered ages ago, to the salvation of souls. And, surely, the burden of proof lies upon the active party, upon them who make or maintain the positive law, to shew its profitableness. If this cannot be shewn, the law is idle, or mischievous: and if there be, what the Church of England depends upon, great and undeniable advantages, not only temporal, but also spiritual, attendant upon the establishment of one Church in every land, it becomes the members of that Church to do their utmost, individually and collectively, that each Englishman may be built up on the foundation of that Church which was laid by apostles and prophets, of which the Lord Jesus is himself the head corner-stone. Now, as this cannot be done by compulsion, it must be done by conciliation, if it be done at all: and the first step towards the winning of souls, will be to take care that the faith of any disciple be not subverted at the time when we should be laying the first stones of his future edification. To the mass of our Church Service he will not find any tenable objection. If he have read history, he will admit the necessity of rule and order in the Church: if he have read his Bible, he will admit the promises made to public, as distinguishable from private worship: and the declaration of the righteousness of our God, in the great congregation, will soon prove itself better, than hiding that righteousness within our hearts, as if we were unwilling to avow His loving mercy: indeed, such an unwillingness often proceeds from shame, at not acting up to our principles; or from pride, or some

other questionable motive. In other words, each Englishman who remained a hearer at one of our parish churches, because he found the Service insisting upon truth without harshness and idle reproof, would soon understand the temporal and spiritual advantages of our Establishment. Let us, then, who love that Establishment, take care that we do not "strive with him about words to no profit;" words which tend to the subverting of every hearer:" but let us "rightly divide the word of truth," and own together our common hope, our common calling, our common Father and God. "The servants of the Lord will avoid foolish and unlearned questions, knowing that they do gender strifes; and will be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves; if God peradventure will give repentance to the acknowledging of the truth; and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will." Let us take care that we do not worship God in vain, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; and that, in order to keep our own tradition, we do not reject the commandment of God. Mark vii. 7—9.

In a limited sense, it is possible for man to make of none effect the word of God: and hence the responsibility which attaches, in a greater degree, to the higher clergy and the ruling powers in England. Each individual, however low, has every day some opportunities of serving his gracious Master; and does, or leaves undone, this his bounden duty. But those of high rank and station, who are set as it were upon a hill, and



have received much, are most especially called upon to promote the kingdom of heaven by their example and their influence: it is more immediately their duty to look with a jealous eye upon the particular church to which they may belong, that, so far as rests with them, it may be freed from spot and blemish.

The changes in any church should be made by the members of that church, who love it, and understand it better than strangers. And, on this ground, it may well be questioned, how far dissenters should be allowed such privileges as will give them the power to make any changes in the Church of England, until that Church has been changed by its own members into a form less objectionable than that which it now wears. If these privileges be granted to dissenters before such a change, it is not improbable that some classes of them may deem it right to interfere with the regulations of our church; and some law, to prevent such an interference, would become at least advisable: and yet it would be very difficult to provide such a law, without a trespass on the feelings or privileges of loyal dissenters. If some negative changes were now made in the Church of England, not any dissenters would be able, and few, if any, would be desirous to make any further changes. Upon the whole, the mass of protestant dissenters seem better inclined to the Church, than the Church is to them; and more aware of the value of the Church, as maintaining and promoting, at home and abroad, true religion and useful learning, than churchmen themselves as a body. Men are too apt to undervalue their privileges; and often, from an unadmitted conviction that they

do not live up to them. Most churchmen, individually, speak and act with much charity towards their weaker brethren individually; but they forget this charity as a body. By a sad error in reason and feeling, they approve and support, when done by the whole body, that which they disclaim for themselves separately. But surely this error ought to be corrected: and no individual churchman should hold himself obliged to approve, as one of a body, that which he disapproves in his own conscience. The Church is but a multitude of individuals, and there can only be one rule of right and wrong. The spirit of party is very treacherous; and churchmen have also some reason to be on their watch against a spirit of jealousy founded upon wrong principles. Dissenters are zealous and pious; and so they should be. They press hard upon the heels of the Church in the race of life; and so they should, and both should profit thereby. Let not pride and envy delight to prove that their zeal is without knowledge, and their piety of contention; that their efforts are the result of conscious weakness. If the pages of Neal and Calamy, and Baxter himself, if the proceedings in Red-cross street seem to warrant such an inference, still the induction is from a very small number to a very large one: and if it be true, as against those who are thereby condemned, is it right or safe for those who thereby condemn their neighbours? and that in a point concerning which the fact, that they are themselves so peculiarly sensitive, ought to make them examine their own motives with especial care. Such an inference, if true, may not be known to be true by those who adopt

it. Jewell observed of certain charges brought against the early Christians, that the Devil thought it enough for him if he could only so far prevail as to make men believe them true. Apol. iv. & post. 62. Indisputably, there are offenders both within and without the pale of our Church: let all alike try to lessen the numbers of both. If some of the inquiries hereinafter suggested were satisfactorily made, it is not unlikely some changes in our Creed, and Articles, and Liturgy, would be the result. And if, after such changes, all religious tests were abolished, in respect to fitness for civil employments; and no individual presumed unchristian in this Christian land, without evidence to that effect; it seems probable that the Church of England would soon number the great mass of Protestant dissenters among the adherents to her communion. It is assumed, that the ruling powers on behalf of the Church would not, for conscience sake, overlook the lessons afforded them in the 17th and 18th centuries, by Puritans, Non-conformists, and Wesleyans, as to the many points that would then be agitated; especially as to the ordination and re-ordination of ministers, and the necessity for conciliating any congregation, rather than insisting upon identity of opinion, in matters of minor importance. It must be kept in mind, that no professions can absolutely secure or at any time maintain such an identity. The outward exhibition of opinions in practice can alone be controlled: and it should be accounted enough, to controul that practice.

## CHAP. II.

Neque enim ea est Ecclesia Dei, quæ infuscarì labe aliquâ non possit, aut non interdùm egeat instauratione.—JUELLI APOL. 69. & v. 124.

THE Commission which King Charles issued, on the 25th of March 1661, empowered twelve bishops, among whom were Sheldon, Cosin, Sanderson, and Morley; and twelve leading men on the Presbyterian side, among whom were Reynolds (bishop of Norwich), Wallis, Calamy, and Baxter; to consider the objections urged against the Liturgy, and to make such alterations in it as they might concur in thinking advisable. Nine assistants were named for each side; among whom were Heylin, Pearson, Sparrow, and Lightfoot. The directions given these commissioners were, “to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient Liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said Book of Common Prayer contained; and to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and (if

occasion be) to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections, and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient, for the giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his Majesty's protection and government. And to certify, and present to his Majesty in writing, under their several hands, the matters and things whereupon they shall so determine, to be by his Majesty approved and established."

In the preface to our Common Prayer, it is stated "to have been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her public Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting, any variation from it." The reviewers rejected all such alterations as seemed to them dangerous or frivolous: "but such as were tendered to them (by what person, under what pretences, or to what purpose soever tendered), and seemed to them in any degree requisite or expedient, they willingly and of their own accord assented unto: not enforced so to do by any strength of argument, convincing them of the necessity of making the said alterations; for that they were fully persuaded, in their own judgments, that the book, as it stood before established by law, did not contain in it any thing contrary to the word of God, or to sound doctrine, or which a godly man might not, with a good conscience, use and submit unto, or which was not fairly defensible against any that should oppose the same; if it should be allowed such just and favourable construc-

tion as, in common equity, ought to be allowed to all human writings." Their general aim in their undertaking was, "to do that which, to their best understandings, they conceived might most tend to the preservation of peace and unity in the Church; the procuring of reverence, and exciting of piety and devotion, in the public worship of God; and the cutting off occasion, from them that seek occasion, of cavil or quarrel against the Liturgy of the Church." They describe, generally, the alterations and additions they made, in three classes: The first, As directions for the officiating minister: The second, For "the more proper expressing of some words or phrases of ancient usage, in terms more suitable to the language of the then present times; and the clearer explanation of some other words and phrases, that were either of doubtful signification, or otherwise liable to misconstruction: and The third, For the more perfect rendering of such portions of Holy Scripture, as were inserted into the Liturgy."

Since that time, no further review has been made of our Liturgy; which remains now as it was then set forth, except only such alterations in form and names as the King in Council has from time to time directed; and the sanction, such as it may be, given to the forms of prayer for the 5th of November, the 30th of January, the 29th of May, and the King's Accession, for the first time in October 1761, by order of the King.

When America broke her faith, and rebelled against the King to whom she had plighted her allegiance, it was necessary for the churchmen there to make some alterations in their Prayer Book. Seven of the States

held a Convention at Philadelphia in 1785; and set forth a Liturgy varying much more from ours than appeared right to later Conventions. Their present Prayer Book came into use October 1, 1790, under the Convention of October 1789: and the preface to it cites much of the preface to the English Liturgy, and concludes thus :

“The attention of this Church was, in the first place, drawn to those alterations in the Liturgy, which became necessary, in the prayers for our civil rulers, in consequence of the Revolution. And the principal care herein was to make them conformable to what ought to be the proper end of such prayers; namely, that ‘rulers may have grace, wisdom, and understanding to execute justice, and to maintain truth;’ and that the people ‘may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty.’

“But while these alterations were in review before the Convention, they could not but, with gratitude to God, embrace the happy occasion which was offered to them, uninfluenced and unrestrained by any worldly authority whatsoever, to take a further review of the public service, and to establish such other alterations and amendments therein as might be deemed expedient.

“It seems unnecessary to enumerate all the different alterations and amendments. They will appear, and it is to be hoped the reasons of them also, upon a comparison of this with the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. In which it will also appear, that this Church is far from intending to depart from

the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship, or further than local circumstances require.

“ And now, this important work being brought to a conclusion, it is hoped the whole will be received and examined by every true member of our Church, and every sincere Christian, with a meek, candid, and charitable frame of mind; without prejudice or prepossession; seriously considering what Christianity is, and what the truths of the Gospel are; and earnestly beseeching Almighty God to accompany with his blessing every endeavour for promulgating them to mankind, in the clearest, plainest, most affecting, and majestic manner, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour.”

And this Prayer Book is well worth the serious attention of all those who look upon our own Prayer Book as capable of improvement. Before any change is effected in our Prayer Book, some inquiries should be sent round to the clergy of each diocese, and some general report be published. The Americans have made some changes which appear for the worse, and some for which the reasons are not evident to common readers: but there are those among our churchmen now, who are able and willing to weigh all such changes as may be proposed, and act accordingly.



## CHAP. III.

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It is good also not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident : and well to beware, that it be the reformation that draweth on the change ; and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation.—BACON, *Ess.* xxiv. Of Innovations.

THE Articles of our Church contain matters of most unequal importance, required in such manner as to make them seem of equal importance : and some of them are negative, and therefore essentially articles of peace ; and they should be declared such, and not articles of faith.

The Athanasian Creed is still read as part of our Church Service, and yet it offends many : nor can those who may think it essential, as a “ bulwark of our faith,” imagine that the damnatory clauses are indispensable. The arguments of Hooker and Waterland, as far as they deserve the name, are not applicable in support of the retention of the Creed in the Service. They, at the most, only require that such use should be made of the Athanasian Creed as is now made of the Articles. Indeed, Waterland himself, while he declares it best to retain the Creed as it stands, also declares that the rejection of the damnatory clauses, “ which are separable from it,” were better than to reject it altogether, or to

qualify and explain those clauses by a Rubric. It is manifest, that a creed has not hitherto been allowed to be a mere declaration of faith: but if it be intended further to keep together the frame-work of a particular church, can damnatory clauses give effect to such an intention? On this point, much more will be said by and by: for the present, it is enough to remark, that Waterland's book is about 210 pages, fourteen of which are devoted to "the vindication of the Church of England for receiving and retaining the Athanasian Creed." Any inquirer may therefore, in one short chapter, the eleventh, find what Waterland has to say upon the subject; and he will soon understand why Waterland disproved the cause of Clarke, rather than proved his own.

The Sacrament could not, on the present system, be administered by any clergy attached to any church, in a populous parish, within any reasonable time, if every parishioner admitted and acted upon the advice of his pastor. The bodily strength of any rector and curate would be exhausted, in almost every case, before each communicant had received the bread and wine; and the hours it would require could not be spared by poor parents and householders. On Good Friday, this year, four clergymen officiated at one of the parish churches in London; and from the time when the first communicant received the bread, to that at which the latest received the wine, three quarters of an hour elapsed. Such a system is also unfavourable to devotion, in the congregation, as well as in the minister. There are many who have not ever been made able to sustain a proper tone of mind throughout the long communion of hundreds;

and it is almost necessary to leave the "business in hand," in order to keep the thoughts from rambling, by reading the Bible or the Prayer Book. On the other hand, every man must have felt very sensibly the great advantages of a shortened communion. The amendments which may be practicable will be discussed hereafter. Neither the Redeemer, nor his Apostles, nor the early Christians, have said or done any thing, which is commonly known, whereby the changes proposed can be disapproved. And these changes would discard that garment of popery which is now thrown around the Sacrament; and would also lessen that tendency to superstition, with which many good churchmen now look upon the bread and wine, as a sort of charm or medicine, which can work independently of the recipient's own exertions: indeed, many but take it as another form of extreme unction. By how much the more the priest has to do, by so much will the layman be tempted to do less; and so to betray his own soul, by entrusting too much to others.

Excommunication is now made, by a sort of practical catachresis, a civil punishment: and yet it is agreed, on all hands, that one distinguishing excellence of Christianity is its amalgamation with every form of government that leaves conscience free; and it ought to stand aloof from all merely civil regulations. "Can any man defend the use of excommunication as a base process to lackey up and down for duties and fees, it being a precursory judgment of the latter day." BACON, *Of Church Controversies*.

From these, and other such considerations as these,

more developed, and more extended in reasoning and application, the following pages have been submitted to the public.

Their compiler has persuaded himself that they are, in fact, what they certainly are intended to be, most friendly to the Church and its members: all the changes proposed are, in their effect, negative; and, when made, would not require any change in opinion from him who now admits, to the fullest extent, our Articles and Liturgy; while they seem calculated to improve the general character of our Church, and to conciliate many who now disapprove, and some who now dissent from, its institutions and discipline.

The remarks will probably seem irregular and desultory: but it must be remembered, that their purpose is to excite the attention of every reader, for himself, to the present state of our Church, and its clergy; and not to give offence to its adherents, or pleasure to its opponents; to inquire, rather than to advocate; to call forth examination, rather than expect belief; not to ask treacherous questions; not even, directly, to supply information; but to lead every true friend of our Church to consider for himself, how the multitude of those without its pale may be most advisably decreased. At this time, such a purpose appears a sufficient reason for publication; and in furtherance of it, have several reviews and anonymous pamphlets been published of late: and those who require to know the name, to have the personal warrant of every writer, whose pages they read on subjects capable of controversy, must bear a little with motives to them unknown; and lament, rather than

censure, the existence of impediments so prejudicial to the best cause, and yet so strong as to be insuperable.

These remarks are all written in good part; and upon the understanding, that they shall be taken in good part, and not wrested to inferences, which were not, as the writer thought, probable: which may be possible, but are not necessary. Nor, on such a subject, is it unfair to crave an allowance for some apparent inconsistency: for there are good reasons and great authorities on both sides of many questions here assumed or discussed, and very different characters to be conciliated. The same mass, when viewed from different quarters, takes very different shapes, and is justly spoken of in such shape as it may then be wearing. There is a learned puzzle for children, in which one piece of wood is required to pass through, and in passing exactly to fill, three different holes; one square, one round, and one oval.

It is not, however, right to point out any defects in the constitution of Church or State, without at the same time suggesting a remedy. This remedy may be, or may appear, worse than the disease; and, certainly, more able inquirers will suggest better remedies: but every inquirer is bound to tell what plan would, in his opinion, remedy the defects of which he complains, or not to point out these defects to the public. Every institution of man is, of necessity, imperfect: to declaim against necessary imperfections argues an evil and factious purpose in the declaimer, or an ignorance which should keep him silent. Even

were the theory perfect, the practice could never become so.

The plan here suggested, for removing the evils now complained of, is a review of our Liturgy and Articles, by Commission to that effect, if obtainable from the Crown ; if not, by a Committee of Religion, in the House of Commons. And there are two definite advantages which would probably result from such a review ; and which would justify such a review, and all the discussions it must create, if there do not result any third advantage whatever : and these two are, the disuse of the Athanasian Creed, and the division of our Articles into articles of faith and articles of peace. We have been all too long in bringing our practice to prove our agreement with Jewell, that the truth of the Gospel depends not upon Councils. Apol. 131. When Luther was accused of heresy, not because he differed from Scripture, but from holy Fathers and Councils and Universities, Melancthon expressed his belief, three centuries ago, that holy Fathers and Councils and Universities were not to decree the articles of Christian faith. Cox's Life, 159. If this review of the Liturgy and Articles should end in confirming them, exactly as they are, men's minds will for the present be set at rest : and the discussion of them, if published, will have satisfied and instructed many, who cannot now believe that such would be the result.

In thinking over the various objections that have been made against our Church, and the plans that may be suggested for their removal, let every inquirer

keep his attention well awake to what appears to himself advisable in the second place, if his first plan be rejected; and make that plan the subject of conversation, when suitable. The best plan, as of old the fittest man, may so be discovered: and, at all events, a spirit of fellowship and conciliation will so be cherished. The Church of Christ is a common cause; and does not require, if it in any way sanction, all the distinctions which now so unhappily prevail among Protestants, as though their common Master were divided. And it is not possible to do away these distinctions by the rude hand of law. The cause, therefore, is almost personally thrown upon those who can make concessions, if any be thought advisable.

The Nineteenth Article is not so definite as it should be: certainly, there is abroad in the world a very mistaken notion of what is intended by the "Church," which shews itself but too often. Our Common Prayer recognises all Christians as the heritage of their Creator: and although the term "clergy" be still retained, its derivation is now disregarded, and its meaning much diminished where it is not entirely changed. Its first adoption, and its present retention, are trifles of that kind which serve to indicate the current of opinion; and both alike warn us against the spirit that gradually formed the system of popery, that still sanctions, and in some measure supports, its sway. Among the Papists, all Protestants can see how a mistaken notion of faith was gradually permitted to enlist on its side our passions, and reconcile in strong delusion the service of God and Mammon. Something of the spirit of popery

seems to be still traceable in our own Church, and in some of its most honest and zealous friends; and to have been pointed out very strongly at the beginning of the Third William's reign; but by those, who erred much on the other side of the question, and so crippled their own testimony.

The opinions here stated, have all been borrowed, and are not any of them new: indeed, were they believed to be new, they would be suppressed, as sufficiently objectionable on that ground alone: authorities have been forgotten, and references mislaid; but most of the arguments here used will be found in Baxter and his friends, or their cotemporary opponents; and were advanced, on one side or other, by the various writers on the subject. The Catalogue of the British Museum will prove that each party had numerous writers: and although many idle objections were urged against the Liturgy, both at the Savoy Conference, and at the Revolution, and in the Jerusalem Chamber, yet were there other objections which seem now tenable, and, when discussed in a proper spirit by those of competent learning and experience, hold forth a promise of correspondent changes. And the form of a Commission in the first instance, if obtainable, is legal, and has been usual. It is undoubtedly true, that the legality of such a Commission has been disputed in several publications: and a satisfactory answer to all objections will be found in a small tract, entitled, "A Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission opened in the Jerusalem Chamber, Oct. 10, 1689," which was licensed Oct. 29, 1689, and published at that time.



## CHAP. IV.

The true and Christian unity is this, "that the whole flock of Christ hear the voice of the only Shepherd, and follow Him. The band of unity is simple verity."—JEWELL's Defence of his Apol. p. 330.

ALL will agree, that discussion should precede any change: and if the changes, here proposed, appear too boldly and definitely laid down, it is not from any presumptuous notion that they are the best that can be proposed; but it is from an earnest desire to obtain the assent or dissent of the reader, and to avoid leaving upon his mind a vague and indistinct impression, that there is some truth in what is urged; and that something, a word that baffles inquiry, and makes indolence look like wisdom, something may be done, or perhaps must be done, by and by, but not at present. Any inquiry before the House of Commons, although it did not lead to any change, would be most useful. And it would be well that inquiry began where reform most probably must begin; and begin, too, so early, that in the common duration of Parliaments the same individual Members might consider it well. If necessary, let session after session pass away, until the subject is treated as dispassionately as possible, by the friends more particularly, than by the opponents of change.

Long ago, Burke proved the folly of hasty legislation; and, waving all reference to higher principles than the wisdom of this world, urged irresistibly the long vacations of the British Parliament, against the headlong presumption and almost unbroken sittings of the traitors and atheists who effected and maintained in France the Revolution and its tyranny. Caution, and lapse of time, and temperate rumination, are more especially requisite in the case of laws concerning which all discussion has been deprecated, upon plausible grounds, by many wise and good men, for a century; laws, in which any change whatever must be proposed under much obloquy, carried on through much opposition, and be effected eventually perhaps, if effected at all, in such a manner as will not at first fully satisfy friend or foe. Where there subsists an alliance between Church and State, they who seek change must know what a difficult cause they have undertaken; and all friends to that alliance must feel what it is to legislate concerning articles of faith, and Liturgies, and Convocations, and bishops: and there is now some ground to believe, that statesmen may have gladly considered the press of other business as a sufficient excuse for deferring the consideration of subjects at once so delicate and important. And this virtual neglect has been, and is, rendered more easily practicable, by the long forbearance and truly Christian spirit of our clergymen individually; by the sound feeling in which each of them sets quietly about his own work in his own district, making the best of what he thinks he cannot change, and ought not idly to dispute. And there may exist,

in the feelings of many, what assuredly exists in the feelings of some, an indefinite objection to publishing their opinions in favour of any change, in the great probability that such a publication would not be well received from those whom the world considers professionally bound to oppose change. That the world should consider them so, is one more proof to the many, how very unwise it is to abstain for a long period from considering the expediency of changes. In Synod or otherwise, with laymen or without them, the Church should be frequently passed under review.

If an Establishment be understood to mean such regulations concerning the Church, and its officers and its formularies, as will throw artificial difficulties in the way of those who propose to review that Church, those officers and those formularies, an Establishment cannot be considered desirable. And if an Establishment be of such a nature as to require its own champions to go forth to the battle in the coat of mail and the helmet of brass, and to gird on the sword that is provided for them; and do not allow any one who may have proved them to put them off, and take up stones out of the brook, and a sling; the blasphemers that come forth against that Church are not unlikely to conquer. An Establishment is not intended to perpetuate error: and any change in the Established Church of England cannot at any time affect our principles of conduct, which would remain obligatory, though heathen altars defiled the land.

## CHAP. V.

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Men's minds should move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.—BACON, *Ess. I. Of Truth.*

ARISTOTLE, a delightfully clear and most satisfactory writer on moral conduct and the exercise of the mind, has shewn, that for questions properly submitted to our determination and reasoning, questions in contingent matter, we cannot have an absolute standard of reference. Abstract and absolute truth, if within our reach, were inconsistent with a state of trial. In strictness, indeed, truth is merely logical: although now in practice, it takes a substantive existence much oftener than its original and primary meaning. From this transformation of words into things, arises one great difficulty in forming creeds: and when formed, they are too often abused into means of discord, by the perverseness of those who will not understand them; and so, charity is rendered almost impracticable. Men suspect themselves to be arguing about words; and grow fierce and insolent, to drown their consciousness. They attack the adversary in person, when his cause is too much for them.

A question proposed to the mind, and duly proved, is an opinion held by that mind: and the enunciation of

that opinion, so duly proved, is then the truth, if the words be strictly taken : but the same word, "true," is used to denote, that what was the question has been fairly proved from the premises ; which may be, whether the premises represent the thing that is, or the thing that is not ; and also to denote, that the question so proved represents the thing that is, over and above being also fairly proved from the premises, which can only be when the premises also represent the thing that is. Under <sup>an</sup> is equivocal term, a man who, being in error, states as fact what is not fact, tells in the same words that which at one and the same time is truth and is not truth. Nor are these the only abuses of this term : but enough has been thrown out, to shew that the opinion of those persons who may be of that character any individual most approves, is the standard to which that individual must have recourse, in all matters of doubt : and this conviction is likely to produce mutual forbearance, where any two may differ in opinion. And now, adapting our remarks to England, and its present state of knowledge, it is evident, that, in words, the opinion of Christians will be the best standard : and this seems enough for our present purpose, although nicer differences than those now to be discussed would find the word Christian more equivocal than any of the terms considered by Aristotle, with a view to establishing his standard of opinion. Some have used the word "truth," as expressing what the Bible really and directly says in matters of religion ; and the word "opinion," as expressing what it seems to say, or to imply, or to admit as justly deduced ; presuming, in fact, upon their own

opinion in both cases. But the Bible is not of any private interpretation: and whether we construe the passage with Horsley, as requiring us to adopt the general sense and spirit of Scripture; or with other commentators, as warning us against individual teachers; it seems to warrant a declaration, that, relatively to us, truth is the opinion of the majority of Christians. Hence it follows, that if the result of experience be fairly collected to require a creed, it should be such a creed as to command the unbiassed assent of the majority of Christians: and this statement, if true, raises a question, to be considered more at large hereafter, how far the ruling powers in England should suffer, in our national creed, a single article which does not appear essential to Salvation: for a creed, composed of such essential articles of faith, would supply a safe and sure rock, and a broad enough basis, for building there upon a national Church. It is very necessary that the terms "of faith," when applied to creeds, articles, and confessions, should not be misunderstood. Words can not avow the faith, which our lives must evidence and realize. True faith is a living principle, an active spirit that governs our conduct and thoughts; and cannot, as Jewell strongly observes, ever be at leisure, or discharged from its work. Apol. 36. The best creed has not in itself any life; and the admission of it, by the understanding and the public profession of it, are not at all inconsistent with want of faith. A form of sound words is, indeed, by many thought advisable, and even necessary, for a particular church, as a symbol or watch-word to prevent secret foes from entering the inclosure

as friends and partisans, and turning against itself the strength of the camp. But that is all its use, even as they think: and it is hardly necessary that any such creed should be made part of public worship, in which, but for that creed, all Christians might concur. If it be necessary, as a continual memento, yet it might be repeated in the Communion Service only, as now observed; or be thrown into the third person, as in the Athanasian Creed, and so leave unhurt any dissenter that may have been among the congregation. "Concerning the bonds of unity, the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes: for, to certain zealots, all speech of pacification is odious." "Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements; as if they would make an arbitrement between God and them." "The fruit of unity (next unto the well-pleasing of God, which is all in all), towards those that are within the Church, is peace, which containeth infinite blessings: it establisheth faith: it kindleth charity: the outward peace of the Church distilleth into peace of conscience: and it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treaties of mortification and devotion." BACON, *Ess. III. Of Unity in Religion.*

"Unity indeed, and unanimity, best suit religion; yet are not a certain and peculiar mark of the Church of God." JUELL, 44. Any Governors of any land may be mistaken: and that, by putting too much, or too

little, in their creed: and as it is probable, that, taking into consideration the whole world, no one Government will ever be in an absolute majority in every point, at last the propriety of any given creed becomes a question of numbers; regard being had to the moral and intellectual qualities of the individuals on both sides: and here, some have gained, and laid down, as they think, a substantive distinction between a creed for a particular church, and a creed for the whole body of Christians. Some sects are excluded on political grounds, as offering to their own Government a divided allegiance: but upon religious grounds only, Protestants, who appeal to the Bible, can hardly believe themselves justified in excluding from their else permitted share in the Government, those whom they admit to be within the pale of Salvation, and so governing and governed by the same essential motives as themselves. On the other hand, such dissenters as may complain of such exclusion in England must be aware of the true nature of that complaint, and that their desire is civil authority, not liberty of conscience. There is one creed composed of articles essential to Salvation, and therefore to communion, according to the opinion of the ruling powers in any land: and this creed they, in their own estimate, may consider themselves bound to require in all their officers, as a moral qualification for the discharge of their offices. There is another creed, composed of articles not essential to Salvation, but preferable to the contrary notions, on various grounds, according to the opinion of the ruling powers, who may thereupon consider themselves justi-



fied in requiring their officers to abstain from teaching the contrary. Some of our bishops have maintained, and some have denied, the virtual existence of this subdivision in our own Church Articles. Now, "howsoever politick considerations and reasons of State may require uniformity, yet Christian and divine grounds look chiefly upon unity." BACON, Concerning the Liturgy &c. The Scriptures shew me, "that God has left the like liberty to the Church Government, as He has done to the Civil Government, to be varied according to time and place and accidents, which nevertheless His high and divine Providence doth order and dispose." BACON, On the pacification of the Church. "It is hard for them to avoid blame, who stand so precisely upon altering nothing." BACON, Of Church Controversies.

That alterations have been made in the creeds, is matter of notoriety. The changes which are now contemplated, are not any way hazardous, or detrimental to what is called the "true faith." Each churchman may hold his present belief, after a revision of the Liturgy. The old Roman, or Apostles' Creed, is cited by Waterland, from Usher. de Symbol. 6 and 9, in the following words: "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son our Lord; who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried; rose again the third day from the dead; ascended into heaven; sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and dead: And in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body. Amen."

## CHAP. VI.

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Credimus unam esse Ecclesiam Dei, eamque non ut olim apud Judæos in unum aliquem angulum aut regnum conclusam : sed catholicam atque universalem esse, et diffusam in totum terrarum orbem ; ut nulla nunc natio sit quæ possit verè conqueri se exclusam esse, et non posse ad Ecclesiam et populum Dei pertinere.—JUELLI Apol. 19.

UPON the force and conventional import of the word Church, it is very difficult to say any thing without breaking in upon some controversy. Laymen must form the great mass of every church, in number ; and, in every good sense, the term Church must comprehend them, as well as clergymen. And this will be allowed by all : and is enough for the present purpose, without determining their relative value in the Church, or entering upon invidious comparisons. As every soldier is not fitted to be an officer, it seems fair to infer, that in that knowledge, more immediately called for by his profession, every clergyman is better instructed than any one layman : and yet the layman, possessing less of such knowledge, may, in consequence of other qualifications, bring what little he has better into use, and become far more efficient than his wiser pastor. They who are walking under its walls, see not the general effect of a building. Poets and painters are not al-

ways the best judges of poetry and painting; and from the personal respect due and mostly paid to clergymen, and from an erroneous estimate of their characters, as though they were only professional advocates, they do not, in the common intercourse of life, hear the objections which are often and freely discussed among laymen. At the same time, they are more aware of the passing excellence of our Church, as a whole, pervading the palace and the cottage, than laymen are in general. They feel how truly their own body may be called the salt of this land.

It were unfair to rest much upon the derivation and early use of the words designating the Church an assembly of "the Saints;" as a secondary sense often tacitly supersedes a primary one, and usage stamps a new denomination on an old coin. To all that read their Bibles, to every one but a Papist, it is sufficiently clear that there have been, and are, more "Churches" than one. Hence it is inferred, that, being of this church, or of that church, has not, of necessity, any thing to do with Salvation; for Salvation is common to every church now, as of old. Undoubtedly, there is an Universal Church, made up of all these particular churches; and some unfair advantages have been taken against inadvertency, by means of this double signification; every particular church being without any peculiar name, as to the point of difference between the Church and a church. "A church in error" conveys a distinct meaning to a Protestant ear: Churches and Christians may safely differ on points not essential to Salvation, and on points that seem, to the

differers on both sides, essential. In the one case, free communion and intercourse are allowed by most Christians to be practicable : in the other, they are not often allowed to be so. When any man's conduct, in the eyes of those to whom he is known, bears continual witness that he confesses with his mouth the Lord Jesus, and believes in his heart that God has raised Him from the dead, such a man, in their estimate, is saved, shall be saved, or will be saved ; for all these forms of expression hold the same truth. Such a man may fall away : and a church composed of such men may fall away from their "first faith:" and then they cease to be "in a state of Salvation;" for such appears the force of the word "saved." A Christian who is not saved at any given point of time, is a contradiction in terms: as much and in the same manner as is a Christian habitually living in any known sin. Such Christians, by birth and courtesy, cannot be members in truth of any particular church, or of the Church Universal, and may be seeming members of any church. If, then, any definite meaning be wanted for the term Church, when applied to distinguish any particular church, it cannot be derived from the essentials to Salvation, or Christianity, but must be found in some of the accidents to that particular church ; its situation, for instance, or policy : but the distinction is, most frequently, taken from some peculiar opinion, in which differing parties may agree to differ.

To the word "opinion" in religious matters, many will feel objections, which it is earnestly hoped they will examine for themselves : and the following hints

are thrown out for the better illustration of the term, at the risk of being charged with repetition: but the point is of the greatest importance, and should be well determined. Absolute, abstract truth can essentially be known to God only. We have not any reason to believe that His creatures can know any thing, save by relation: of our great Creator himself we know nothing, more than what He is to us ward. Opinion is to each man the measure of revelation, the ground on which his faith, and consequent salvation, are built up. They who saw the dead raised to life, and did not, and could not, deny the fact, are recorded as attributing the miracle to some evil power; and that, in despite of the conviction that so such an evil power were working against itself. Others, who saw the miracle, took up a very different opinion: and in both cases the appeal was to the judgment or opinion of the witnesses. In the Old Testament there is evidence that lying wonders and seducing spirits were permitted by an Almighty and merciful Providence. The prophet, whose signs and wonders came to pass, was to be stoned, if he taught idolatry. Deut. xiii. To depend upon opinion, is the condition of any creature, exposed and liable, but not given up, to sin, and capable of pardon. How opinions ought to be formed, examined, rejected, and adopted, every willing learner is soon taught: and it is the same thing whether a sound mind be an immediate gift, or a slow earning. In whatever shape it be sent, we know Who gives every good gift, Who worketh in us both to will and to do. Supposing religion did not depend upon opinion, it must be altogether natural, in a sense in which that epithet is

used, offensively, to signify something which we cannot help possessing by birth, and because we are men. And to resist the evidence of lying miracles, wrought by Satan and his agents, through the exercise of our judgment, is a more easy task than the unquestioned struggle in moral conduct, against our own fleshly propensities, in league with the self-same evil powers and principalities. Again, miracles are wrought in mercy: yet some doubt, and some disbelieve; and so the inference cannot be necessary. Some Egyptians disregarded the timely warning, and left their cattle to be killed by the hail. The worship of power alone, in the present constitution of man, were too much the result of conviction without reasoning, and would be too like mere selfishness, too like idolatry. The very use of the word "temptation" in our Bible seems to involve the point under consideration. In the case of miracles, for instance, if miracles commanded belief, they who saw them were not in a state of probation: and it follows, from what is here contended for, as the nature of opinion, that no essential point of religion can have been left dependent upon a deep knowledge of language, or other "fleshly wisdom," wisdom which a gentile may possess as well as a Christian, or upon the purport of one or two texts, concerning things confessedly hard to be understood: for that were to make Salvation rest upon the head entirely, and not upon the heart also; which seems an untenable hypothesis, even without our Bible; for all forms of religion address the will, and not the understanding, save as a means of biassing the will: but is evidently wrong when we find, on every page of our gospels, absolute proof

that nothing can be required, nothing known, as an article of faith, which does not shew itself as a principle of action. On points of religion, opinions should be left free, and must, when personal violence is not used, be left free to every one. It does not follow, that every one should be left free to circulate his own opinions, or to intermeddle with the government of those who hold different opinions from himself. Lardner, vol. vi. p. 217, and vol. x. p. 33, thinks that an uncircumcised stranger could only appear as a traveller, and could not at any time have a permanent home among the Jews. Such a stranger could not partake of the passover. Exod. xii. 48. And admitting that the peculiar case of the Jews furnishes no authority for other nations, an individual cannot be considered reasonable, when he says, "You shall allow me to legislate for your Church, and shall not in the least intermeddle with mine." Character, though mostly the cause, is, by a common re-action, also the effect of laws: and it is of great importance what opinions are held by those who have the making our laws in England. It is not difficult to see why Papists should wish for more power in England than they now possess: and they would probably receive it, but for their own hierarchy. There is inseparably attached to any priesthood much political influence over their flocks: and the direct tendency of Popish influence is to overthrow the Church and State of England. And the same tendency must there exist, varying only in degree, wherever any priesthood requires obedience or belief on any other authority than that of the Bible, by any other arguments than such as address

themselves to the reason. It requires great consideration before any further power is given to Papists, whose influence must be great : for their religion is very near superstition, and is built upon the passions, that should die away from the heart, and is shaped for their indulgence and pardon. The Papist now, when he is bidden by his priest, pays his money to a foreign power, friend or foe, as it may happen, and holds his spiritual welfare independent of his native land, and dependent upon his compliance with the commands of an alien ; at the same time that that alien, if he reason consistently from his own premises, must be set against England. It must be kept in mind, that Popish priests never deny to their own community that ultimate salvation which they never concede to those out of their community. What is doubly mis-called Catholic emancipation is not a question of religion, and should not be represented as such. If the faith of the Papist be inconsistent with his fealty, the Pope is to blame, not the King of England : and the question should be argued at Rome, not here.

In England, a person who is not endeavouring to be, or become, a Christian, cannot be considered, in any sense, trustworthy. In the broad day, such a person is winking hard, and crying out aloud, How dark it is. The determination, who shall, and who shall not, share in our government, is, not only of right, but of necessity, by the force of terms, left to the ruling Civil Authorities. It is not allowable for one individual to assert an inherent right to rule another, and to have for himself a share, or voice, in government : for where, then, were the right



to be ruled, by whom we approve? Any further argument in support of this point were useless. It always has been, and long will be, disputed. In all these cases, the ultimate appeal is, and must be, among men, to the sword: and this appeal must be made at the peril of the souls of those who make it. Now, it is evident, that they who make that appeal, when they might enjoy their own opinions, and follow their own faith, in private life, are self-condemned, upon their own shewing: for their plea of conscience is falsified, and their aim and cause proved of this world. It has indeed been said, in Parliament, by Pym, "that it belongs to the duty of Parliament to establish true religion, and to punish false." Kennet, *iii.* 53: but the punishment of false religion is not now held to be the province of any man, or any Church, or other body of men, civil or ecclesiastical. The Church has been defined, by Bishop Kennet, in the House of Lords, on the debate of the Act for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms, 5 Geo. I. c. 4. 1718, to be "a Scriptural institution upon a legal establishment." Tindale's *Contin. c. 3. p. 249*, note 8.

## CHAP. VII.

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“To the Law and to the testimony.”—ISAIAH, viii. 20.

ASSUMING that a revelation has been made ; that, by inspired messengers, we have been taught truths, which without such messengers we could not have believed, could not have been taught; and these, also, truths essential for our restoration to that image in which Adam was created, and existed until his fall ; each man's first inquiry must be, who these inspired messengers were, and what lessons they taught : in other words, our Bible must be proved genuine and authentic, and a true construction must be put upon its words. Christianity depends upon our use of the Bible. If individuals differ in the construction they put on the Bible, the majority, in such cases of difference, will consider that construction which differs from theirs as an error, because it differs from their own : and if the error be deemed material, will seldom think themselves justified in holding communion with the dissidents ; some of them, possibly, led to this conclusion by pride and hardness of heart, and some by misunderstanding the expressions of the Bible in Jewish mouths, but many by zeal for the cause of truth, and by jealousy for the honour of their Maker. The individuals, who thus

differ, are supposed to differ on grounds which seem, in their opinion, to support their difference against the majority. Now beyond this point we cannot get: on earth there is not any better, any other, authority for them, or against them: arguments cannot give understanding. Each of us, whether in the minority or majority, must, at our own peril, abide by his own conscience, and stand or fall to his own master. Using, for the present, language somewhat incorrect, the adoption of a right creed, unless, or rather until, we make it our own in heart, cannot be of any possible service, cannot be religious, cannot but be superstitious in its tendency. Whatever be our profession of faith, it is a falsehood in terms, if the faith be not ours. Forms of words, adopted in ignorance, or indolence, and part knowledge, or against our will, have not any power. The stream of electricity will not light up the characters, unless they be made of capable metal. Christianity by compulsion, an involuntary service of God, is impossible. Every man who serves God, must serve Him from his heart, in such way as he may believe conformable to the will of God: and for the latter purpose, he will endeavour to ascertain the words of revelation, and their due meaning. However unlearned he may be, he is a judge of the moral character of the doctrines propounded to him, can try them by this sure, inseparable, and most general test, and so far can have an opinion of his own. And it is very observable, that the increase of Christianity gives increasing means of bringing itself to this test: and itself makes greater the demands against itself, by continually raising, what has been perversely

called the natural sense of right and wrong. The light of Justice burns brighter, as the atmosphere becomes more oxygenated : and, contrary to the rule in physics, the atmosphere of Christianity grows more and more capable of maintaining the light of the Gospel, as that light burns brighter and more glorious to behold. On other points, not so directly practical, the unlearned man may have to take the opinion of others ; and this at his own peril, for any thing revealed to the contrary.

As a general truth, it must be admitted, that the great mass of mankind believe the books of the Bible to be genuine, and authentic, and correctly translated, on the authority of those, their rulers in Church and State, by whom they have been set forth, except in so far as every individual moral agent may be biassed by the intrinsic moral worth of these books. There is not any thing to relieve our Government in England from this responsibility. The unlearned Englishman requires, and has received, a Bible which is declared to contain the word of God, and to be correctly translated into the English language, upon the whole, on all material points : for if it were possible, it is not necessary, that every word should be rendered in the best possible manner, any more than it is necessary that there should not be any various readings in the original manuscripts. Continual improvements may be shewn practicable, so long as the English is a living language.

And thus, to the unlearned Englishman, the English Bible becomes the basis of all his opinions, and ought therefore to vary with the variations of language. In one and the same language, the Bible cannot be the

same to all who speak that one language; for a difference is made by stops, and emphasis, and the nature of the words in common use with the reader, and in the districts where he may have resided. When St. Paul says he knows nothing by himself, the words "by himself" would, in the North, be at once understood to mean "against himself:" and thus it is, that, in fact, and to themselves perhaps imperceptibly, some Christians add to our Bible, some deduct from it, and hardly any two put the same meaning on every passage throughout the whole volume. But it will be evident, from the debates concerning the propriety of a new translation, that all parties consider our present version, upon the whole, as containing and conveying all that knowledge which is necessary towards Salvation, in so far as that expression may be allowable. It may well contain and convey more than is absolutely necessary, according to the notions of any individual; for all blessings, all good gifts, are dealt out with an unsparing and a prodigal hand: but if such an one find a particular book in the Bible enough, and more than enough, for himself, he may surely allow others to add to that one book, for their own use and comfort, other books not inconsistent with it. And, on the other hand, those others need not call upon him to accept their additional books, as leading to conclusions, which conclusions he is willing to adopt upon the strength of his own book. Our Sixth Article declares "Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to Salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an

article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to Salvation." This sentence may fairly be taken as speaking, to the unlearned, of the English Bible and the English Articles. And to the same purport we may construe the positive wording of the next sentence, in this Sixth Article; which, however, would have accorded better with the spirit of the First, had it proceeded in the negative; thus: "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do not understand any other books than those which are here enumerated, and are termed Canonical, as framing the rule of our Christian profession." A negative change this, and a slight one, but one which appears advisable, because the term "inspiration" has not been, and cannot be, strictly defined in relation to the Bible; and because many conscientious people, weaker brethren it may be, but brethren still, have doubts, which it cannot be thought necessary for their salvation they should determine, concerning the canon of Scripture: for example, the Song of Solomon and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and their relative merit when compared to the Gospels, or the Epistle to the Romans. If it be granted, for the present, that these doubts might and ought to be solved, that these objections are wrong; yet are they so wrong, that for such doubts men should be compelled to dissent from any body of Christians, to which else they would gladly belong, in order to satisfy their own mistaken strictness as to the notion of communion. Is there not, at least, equal pertinacity, the same moral fault, on both sides: and what do the excluders gain, or propose to themselves for gain? It is admitted that this niceness of conscience may be a

morbid infirmity, but it is one for which indulgence may be craved: it is excess on the right side; the truth of the feeling will obtain pardon for the falsehood of the expression. All scruples of conscience that can be attended to, without any forfeiture of positive right and good, are entitled to attention: it is charity in its proper sense. The declaration prefixed to the Articles of 1562 “prohibits the least difference from them;” and shews much of popery, not only in this point, but in the fourth paragraph: in which the King declares that any varying or departing from the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England as now established is not to be endured. And the seventh paragraph admits, indirectly, that it may be possible, without violence to the language, to affix a new sense upon some one or other of the articles; and forbids its being done by any person, in either University. Whether Charles the First, or James the First, issued this Bull, is not of much importance: but it is important to add, that it has not been sanctioned by Parliament, and could not be put in force: and there must have been occasions on which it might have been used. Strype somewhere gives a petition from certain individuals who could not believe their Creator predestinated sinners to sin, and could not deny that He predestinated the Christian to obedience: their petition was, that the article on Predestination might be worded accordingly, so as to let them into the Church.

To a dissertation on the Seventeenth Article, published in Oxford 1773, are subjoined papers ascertaining the reign and time in which this declaration was first pub-

lished, to have been that of Charles the First, and the year 1628. The authorities there cited are, Hammond's Works, vol. i. p. 670; Prynne's *Canterburie's Doome*, 160; *Plaifere's Appeal*, pp. 201 and 209, Camb. 1719; *Rushworth's Coll.* i. App. p. 4; *Collier*, ii. 746; *Neal* ii. 163. Waterland attributes this declaration to Charles. *Arian Subscription*, 293. 365. 385.

It is not, surely, the object of a Church to exclude men from what it calls, or declares, "the pale," to leave them without that pale, but, if possible, to gather them together, and fold them within that sheltering pale; and so, the Articles of every and any Church ought to be such, and only such, that the Church believes every part of every one of them essential to Salvation: or else, by express declaration, or the poor alternative of common understanding, and consent, some difference from them ought to be allowed the members of that Church, ecclesiastical, as well as civil. This principle is admitted in our Church by the Article of Predestination, and the question is entirely one of degree. To imagine any Church quite perfect in its construction of the Bible, and consequent rules of practice, hazards the leading principle of Protestantism; and presupposes the world stationary upon the highest attainable ground: it even hazards Christianity; for at least it tends to derogate from individual responsibility, supposing it does not altogether deny its importance. It seems fair from history, fair in theory, to infer, that the most perfect Church in our eyes, at the commencement of this century, might be well improved at the commencement of the next by its then members.



How sad are the consequences of that pretension to infallibility which the Popes still maintain. If we declare at once against all change without inquiry, we pretend to infallibility just as much as the Popish Church. Any needless impediments to inquiry and change are evidence of the same pretension in a less degree. On the other hand, it is idle for individuals in a Church to claim a right to live without rules and articles and creeds ; it cannot be, even in the civil department. They who systematically break the laws of the land, and live by such breach of law, yet intend mostly to live true to their own law ; and are so, until temptation becomes too strong for their artificial barrier to withstand. All men should leave to the rulers of their Church all things that are indifferent ; and make those regulations their own, and obey them in all cases wherein such obedience does not offend conscience. When an individual insists upon doing all his conscience requires him to do, then he is becoming a bad subject. All that conscience can possibly require is, that he should not be compelled to do what offends his conscience. Order and good rule would soon be at an end, if conscience were allowed to justify the deeds of any enthusiast : and there might be many a Venner in the streets of London every year.

## CHAP. VIII.

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Grant us but the freedom which Christ and his Apostles left to the churches; use necessary things as necessary, and unnecessary things as unnecessary; and charitably bear with the infirmities of the weak, and tolerate the tolerable while they live peaceably; and then you will know when you have done: and for the intolerable we beg not your toleration.

The Nonconformists' Petition to the Bishops, presented with the Reformed Liturgy, 1661. CALAMY'S BAXTER, 161.

It is declared in the Preamble, that the Thirty-nine Articles were agreed upon "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the stablishing of consent touching true religion;" or, as the Latin runs, "ad tollendam opinionum dissentionem, et consensum in verâ religione firmandum," 1562. It is not necessary to say any thing about this translation, because English and Latin are alike original here, any thing about the ambiguity, or any thing about the propriety of this declaration. But what does it effect? and what bearing has it upon the Articles? It is exceedingly difficult for any declaration, on any subject, to be so drawn up as to admit one full, definite meaning, and one only: and it is not right that any sophistical advantage should be taken of this inherent difficulty. But the case in our Church is this: whenever, upon any one article thus prefaced, we have any doubt, we are generally referred to what is

called the "received acceptance," and this answer is to be deemed satisfactory. Again, some one article offers what is most offensively termed a "convenient latitude:" a man would avail himself of it; and accordingly makes inquiries, and is told he can, by some; he cannot, by others, equally pious, equally learned. Even our highest Dignitaries have differed, and do differ, about certain points; and so the "received acceptance," in this case of difficulty, becomes, after all, the inquirer's own opinion, upon a review of both sides of the question: and the Article, prefaced as it is, the article which ought in theory to express one only meaning, and that one meaning, upon an essential and necessary point, expresses two meanings, and so declares that the point is not essential and necessary; so admits, against itself, that any expression of either meaning is superfluous: and then, after all, instead of establishing, or even guiding, the inquirer's faith, points two ways; and, whatever way he may take, leaves him in doubt, as far as its own authority goes, which way were the right one; and throws him upon his own decision. The greatest caution, and the deepest and best-derived wisdom, are alike requisite, in determining what points shall form any confession of faith, and how they shall be expressed: and however great the attention, however fervent the charity, which is at any time exercised upon the substance or expression of such high and important forms, it is evident that any the lightest restrictions should not be thrown upon the reconsideration of them the next day, if advisable. Abstract adherence to ancient usage were greater innovation than change: and

as change, before its adoption, must be discussed in the House of Commons, the mere discussion of it there ought not to be dreaded: and any reform that may be advised, ought to be made. If it were practicable to avoid diversities of opinions, is it now advisable? And would not a division of our present Articles, into articles of peace and articles of faith, be preferable?

And it is one object of these pages to set every reader upon determining for himself how far his opinion may be for or against some such a division or distinction. The next object is, to submit to such authorities, as may be deemed most competent, the propriety of any negative changes in our Prayer Book, and its occasional offices, especially since the Prayer Book of the American Episcopal Church is before us for our consideration. Any positive change is not at present called for; and if it ever be, let it then be made. These subjects would formerly have been discussed in a Synod or Convocation, and probably with the report of some previous Committee, to lay a basis for the discussion. As matters now stand, a commission might issue to churchmen and laymen; and their report, if approved, be laid before the Houses of Parliament. An Ecclesiastical Court, under whatever name, would not now be considered a proper tribunal for the consideration of such a report: our religion is by Act of Parliament; and they who use that phrase as a gibe against our bishops and our Church, only hurt themselves. Wheatly gives a very different opinion on this point, citing Bishops Sparrow and Burnet, p. 31. It will be enough, for the present, to point out some of

the changes held advisable. That which, in physics, has been veiled under the name of "The healing power of Nature" has long sustained our Church, but cannot sustain it for ever. The admirable corrective which the good sense and the sound religion of individual clergymen have continued to apply, wherever it was needful, is more than we have any reason to expect for the future. Hope will fail, the over-scrupulous will cease to make a stand against their scruples; and the Church will be made a merchandize for formal friends, and lose the vigorous services of its real adherents. How many now dare not take orders, for reasons the bishops would most gladly declare had ceased to exist! And is the fear of possible evils to prevail thus far? Is evil to be continued, lest evil should be done, which, when done, is the less evil of the two? The Athanasian Creed should be struck out of the Prayer Book, or be disused; or should, at least, be there explained by some rubric; or be so altered, that its plain words may express its plain meaning. There is not any warrant for Christians so to declare accursed any one class or individual, Christian or not Christian; and if there were, we do not meet together on Sundays for such a purpose. If this curse be defensible, the declaration of it is not. Had the curse been against evil-doers, as in the Communion, a sort of defence might be set up for this creed. People do not enough bear in mind, that we know nothing of faith, except from the works it produces: they will not own, often perhaps from long reverence for what they think right, the lamentable error of insisting upon dull and dry creeds, however well

founded on truth: yet the immediate effect of this error is, to admit the thoughtless and the hypocrite, and to exclude the honest investigator. Many individuals have not any objections to any of the statements and clauses in this creed, which they have done their best to understand, and approve, as far as they can understand, excepting only the curse declared against those who believe the Catholic faith to be something different from what is there stated. If the letter of this curse had not been explained away by high Authorities in our Church, and had it not also been generally known that it was so explained away, they would hardly have remained in communion with a Church so uncharitable; though agreeing, upon the whole, that every opinion in this creed which does not affect any other man's belief is consistent with Scripture, whether it be or be not in so many words contained in Scripture.

If this practical abolition of what is offensive in the Athanasian Creed had not taken place, the creed itself would have been put out of the Prayer Book long ago; or we should have had a second Church in England, outnumbering the Church of England; an event which may yet happen, and would happen, but for the difficulties of securing a maintenance for a second set of clergy. The existence of the Methodists is almost the existence of such a second Church: and, much as their founder was in fault, our Church has also been in fault, or they would not have established such a community; which, although shaken by internal divisions, will probably stand, until the Church makes some allowances for them, and so makes this church part of the Church of

England. It is not meant that the Methodists object to the Athanasian Creed: indeed those who dissent from the Church on the plea of conscience, and adopt any definite profession of faith, are not always better informed or of a better charity than churchmen: but it is meant, that what Wesley did, others may do; and that the offence of any division, even in the judgment of those who deem division an offence, does not always rest with the dissident party, but may rest with the establishment from which they dissent: and the offence of divisions is not at all lessened by any incidental advantages they may be so overruled as to produce. It is a melancholy truth, that mistaken objections should be urged against the word "Trinity;" but it is worse, perhaps, that they should not be yielded to, particularly in the case of direct prayer, as in the fourth clause of the Litany. The Gospel has been heard by all who worship the Lord their God, in the character in which He has revealed Himself to His creatures, who "could not see His face and live:" "who believe with all their heart that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." Acts viii. 37. The signs, which Jesus did, are written down, "that men might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, they might have life through His name." St. John xx. 31. "We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, and exalted him with his right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins. And daily in the temple, and in every house, the Apostles ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." Acts v. 29—31, 42. It is not probable

that any article of faith, commonly so called, should be the purpose of the Gospel, which does not tend to bring us within the promises of the Gospel: and the formal recognition of the Trinity, in the words of the Athanasian Creed, even as limited by some to the worship of One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity, has not any such tendency: the words only are in dispute.

Bp. Tomline, in his *Elem.*, observes, that “ Great objection has been made to the clauses of this creed, which denounce eternal damnation against those who do not believe the Catholic faith as here stated ; and it certainly is to be lamented, that assertions of so peremptory a nature, unexplained and unqualified, should have been used in any human composition.” Vol. II. p. 220. St. Mark xvi. 16. is cited on this page. “ We know that different persons have deduced different and even opposite doctrines from the words of Scripture, and consequently there must be many errors among Christians: but since the Gospel no where informs us what degree of error will exclude from eternal happiness, I am ready to acknowledge, that, in my judgment, notwithstanding the authority of former times, our Church would have acted more wisely, and more consistently with its general principles of mildness and toleration, if it had not adopted the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. Though I firmly believe that the doctrines themselves of this creed are all founded in Scripture, I cannot but conceive it to be both unnecessary and presumptuous to say, that except every one do keep them whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.” p. 222. And afterwards: “ In our



exertions to establish the unity of faith, we are not to violate the bond of peace : we are not to consider all who differ from us unworthy of, or excluded from, the favour of God." p. 224. It must be borne in mind, that not any one of these three creeds has, according to Bp. Tomline, "any other claim to our assent than as it agrees with the New Testament." p. 226. Yet Bp. Tomline gives twenty-four pages to prove the Trinity, ten of which contain texts and arguments from the Old Testament. From the New Testament he quotes the charge to baptize, St. Matt. xxviii. 19. and the sayings of many Fathers in regard thereto. The second text is the Apostolical Benediction, 2 Cor. xiii. 14. The third and last text is Rev. i. 4. From page 90 to 98, are arguments from Fathers, and none from the Scriptures.

The word "Trinity" does not occur in the Bible, or in the Articles, but only in the title to the First Article. The doctrine of the Trinity is rested by Bp. Burnet upon St. Matt. xxviii. 19, principally, and upon the same two texts as are cited by Bp. Tomline. It is however evident enough that these two texts do not lend the doctrine much support. On almost every page of the Bible is some remark or allusion which establishes the doctrine of the Trinity, quite as firmly as any one definite declaration could do. The belief of the Trinity is mostly rested by individual Trinitarians upon this general impression and the attribution of Divinity to the separate Persons ; and perhaps, most of all, upon a conviction that redemption and sanctification are as it were a new creation to a fallen descendant of Adam, and call for his warmest love : and to own a Redeemer and Sanc-

tifier without worship, were cold and thankless: and to worship Him, unless He were the Creator, the one Lord God, were idolatry; to which idolatry the knowledge of our obligations would be continually urging us, by means of the best feelings of our nature. But direct words in support of any doctrine are necessary to warrant a declaration that the rejection of that doctrine condemns to certain and endless misery those who die rejecting it. All but direct words are matters of inference; fitted, perhaps, for articles of peace, but not essential to Christianity. Thus it was that long and negative creeds grew into use. To silence disturbers, truths were authoritatively stated and assent required, and dissent forbidden. And when the particular disturbers were silenced, the creeds ought to have been restored to their original form; else our Church might prescribe a creed containing a summary of all Theology. Creeds, like laws, are for offenders: it is true, they may be captious and unwise who dispute the use of the word "Trinity;" but are they less guilty than others, who, believing it, cause thereby to offend those weaker brethren who will readily, and in tears, avow their dependence upon the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. If the first four sentences of the Litany were superseded by some such a clause as should solemnly call upon the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier of all his people, what churchman would lose aught of his devotion?

To quote, in support of the damnatory clauses of this creed, the declaration of our Saviour in St. Mark xvi. 16, and disregard the connexion of the 14th with the 16th verse, appears a most melancholy misconstruction of

that text: and whether it be or be not a misconstruction, such a declaration from Him cannot justify the Church in making the declaration which is made in this creed. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the ninth and all subsequent verses in this chapter are not in the Vatican MSS., and are marked by Griesbach as probable omissions, although he retains them. Lipsiæ, 1805. This damnatory clause should, if untrue, be put out of use, as being untrue; but if it be true, the declaration of it is merely idle, where it is not mischievous. The condemnation of man is not of any further effect against those who are under the condemnation of Heaven, and the solemn pronunciation of it now hardens or affronts many more than it deters. It does, confessedly, give much offence, and keep away from our Church many, who would else be in its communion. And if so, then it is directly injurious: and a stronger term still might be used, among those who consider the established Church the most fitting place of refuge. What can be more at variance, than it is with the soothing and inviting tenor of our Liturgy?

It is melancholy to look around the noble institutions of this land, and to see into how many of them admission must be purchased by some improper pledge or some slight sacrifice of principle. The ingenuous and honest mind is to be broken by some conscious littleness, before it can be allowed to serve the purposes of the world. To set up, as it were, a yoke, and cause men to pass under it upon their entrance into active and useful life, is hateful in every way: it takes from their cheeks the proper blush; and teaches them to out-

reason conscience, and to make nice distinctions in defence of what they would rather give up, only that, as the suggestion is, they stand committed. On the same ground, all indirect means of keeping up particular notions in Church or in State should be shunned, as worse than absolute falsehood. Above all things, a resolute adherence to moral principle is requisite in every State, and every individual of that State, high or low. Intellect without principle is cunning; and leads to tyranny in rulers, and to slavery in subjects: and whatever tends to deprive men of the conviction of their own integrity, when supporting any cause that may need support, ought to be abolished by the friends of that cause. Imputations are thrown out, which are more deplorable, because untrue. It seems, for instance, advisable to discontinue the practice of swearing to the Thirty-nine Articles young Students, when entering upon their Oxford career. The youth, at sixteen, is required to pledge his adherence to results, concerning which, it is often certain, he has not individually made, if he be found capable of making, the requisite inquiry: whilst this pledge will bias the inquiry, should it afterwards be instituted: and a biassed inquirer lends no strength to his cause, and gains none himself. This evil is not cured by the accident that our Church has been right, as he may afterwards agree, in laying down these results. In all these cases, we can easily comment upon the mistake; but yet it does not appear, that reading the Athanasian Creed on Sundays is a mistake as generally admitted, though of the same nature, and only differing in degree. We hear it read; and are committed, in a measure,

to its defence. Some of the clergy, perhaps, do not read it : and it may be questionable whether any bishop would, or discreetly could, interfere in such a case. But many do read it ; and so are committed, and commit others, in some measure, to its defence. When it is read, every man must have seen others sit down, and shut their books : and every layman must have seen and heard, continually, both in church and out of it, dissatisfied features and honest complaints. Some stay away from church on the Athanasian Creed days : others leave the church when the Athanasian Creed is begun : and many sit it out, burning, rightly or wrongly burning, with shame and indignation, yet repeating to themselves the necessity of submitting to those who are lawfully set over them in the Church. Are these feelings to be kindled in a Church without any necessity? Should dissensions be created by a creed? Is it not rather a bond of peace? The boundaries of the kingdom of heaven are not to be declared by man. A superior understanding and learned leisure are gifts to raise those who receive them, and not to put down those who do not. Are we, in our earthborn and selfish narrowness, afraid that we ourselves shall be injured by the admission of too many others within the pale of our communion? Is this the way in which we are to shew ourselves obedient to the wisdom that would have us become all things to all men, if by any means one might be saved?

If Wheatly's "most natural signification of the word creed," p. 147, be adopted, why should there be read in church any creed? And in any case it is difficult to assign

a satisfactory reason for using more creeds than one. The existence of any two creeds, makes the propriety of each questionable, according to the judgment of those who recommend both: for if each were approved, why should not an option be given the officiating minister to read either? The retention of the Athanasian Creed, as a part of our Church Service, has been deprecated for a long time, by many good and sincere Christians. And now there is a very strong conviction, in the minds of many churchmen, that its repetition in church cannot be essential to the salvation of any single Protestant, or the maintenance of any Church in a proper spirit. Hooker, when he is speaking about the Creeds, Book v. sec. 42. observes: "These Catholique declarations of our belief delivered by them, which were so much nearer than we are unto the first publication therof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, these confessions, as testimonies of our continuance in the same faith to this present day, we rather use than any other glosse or paraphrase devised by ourselves, which though it were to the same effect notwithstanding could not be of the like authority and credit."

It is observable, in this first sentence, that the basis of the argument is either begged, or asserted without proof. If the rise of heresies made the creeds needful at one period, it does not follow they should always continue needful for all men, at all times. To whom, further, are these confessions, testimonies? to those who agree, or to those who differ from us? and for what good, in either case? And admitting that profession

proves a continuance in the same faith, of what advantage is it to us to profess the faith held by Athanasius or any man? If not in the Bible, his creed is wrong: if there, it needs not any name.

Hooker's next sentence is: "For that of Hilary unto St. Augustin hath been ever, and is likely to bee alwayes, true. 'Your most religious wisdome knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the true authority of men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held.'"

Jewell's Notions of the Scriptures, pp. 26, 14, 15, and 39, are very adverse to this notion. The authority of the whole world would not excuse a departure from the plain text of the Bible; and would not, in itself, at all warrant an adherence to it, but is altogether collateral: useful as a guide, and only as such, to the meaning of the Bible; and mischievous when it prevents a continual recurrence to the Bible. The authority of St. Paul did not satisfy the Beræans: and each Christian, who does not now search for himself the Scriptures, to see whether the doctrines of his Church be there or not, must be himself in error, whether those doctrines be or be not set forth on certain warrant of Holy Writ. And, as in the fable of the Farmer and his Two Sons, the indirect gain of such a search is far more than the direct gain afterwards: it also brings together faith and practice, which creeds tend to separate.

Many men are agreed, that this Creed should be disused, and the Articles distinguished into two classes: and yet delays and difficulties are continually thrown by

themselves in one another's way. And they who disapprove all change, urge this against the innovators, as reasonably as the Papist urges against Protestants the variance of their creeds. Those who are considered by many the wise and the prudent in our Church, are afraid to call in the aid of Parliament; lest more should be done than they might approve; and so our second state be worse than our first. A distrust of Providence, so at variance with the promise of support, argues some internal misgivings. Let them examine themselves; and it may be shewn to them, that such further interference as they are dreading is advisable, and therefore dreaded. If so, then let the conviction of their real strength set them to work, as it ought to do, heedless of themselves, and full of their purpose under God's blessing. Ambition and diffidence are impertinent terms, and have not any application to matters of such tremendous importance. Events are not within our controul. Let each man do his best, at the time he is doing any thing; and not waste the next day in bettering his work, for his own character's sake. We cannot here on earth do any work of our own. Our own work is that of our Master, in whose uncalculating and free service we have reason to be thankful that unprofitable servants may rejoice. We are not dealt with as slaves: we have not any out-hours for the cultivation of an evening or Sunday garden, for our own private and petty gain or subsistence: our high calling is, to walk the earth joint-heirs of it with its Maker: if our hearts be turned to him, gratitude should be stronger than hire, and affection than indolence. Any thing which



a man can do, he leaves undone at his own peril: it is nothing to him, that another would have done, or might do it better, unless he can set such other person to that work. Some are in themselves timid, and dare not admit the changes proposed: others declare them impracticable; impatient, too often, of weak objections; and desirous, occasionally, to save themselves the trouble of consideration, under the mask of what will be called practical wisdom: a proceeding which turns the good they have done, and thereby become most esteemed in the Church, into a reason for not attempting to do more, and for discouraging those who might else do it instead of them: and so they doubly gainsay the pledge of increasing exertion, and the means of increased usefulness, implied in high character as it rises, and ought to rise, higher and higher.

The rubric proposed in 1689 is cited by Waterland from the original book then in the hands of the bishop of London, November 7, 1727, in these words: "Upon these Feasts, Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday, and upon All Saints, shall be said at Morning Prayer, by the Minister and people standing, instead of the creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, this confession of our Christian faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius: the articles of which ought to be received and believed, as being agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. And the condemning clauses are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the substance of the Christian faith." The less that is said about this rubric, the better. Waterland observes, that a better plan

might have been adopted than either Nichols or Calamy mention, for that, as the damnatory clauses were the main difficulty, the creed might have been preserved, "except those clauses which are separable from it." p. 307. Bp. Mant concludes his notes upon the Athanasian Creed in Waterland's words: "As long as there shall be any men left to oppose the doctrines which this creed contains, so long will it be expedient and even necessary to continue the use of it, in order to preserve the rest: and I suppose, when we have none remaining to find fault with the doctrines, there will be none to object against the use of the creed, or so much as to wish to have it laid aside." It seems fair to infer, that Waterland did suppose there would not be any person to object against the use of this creed, when there were none remaining to find fault with the doctrine. There is undoubtedly great difficulty, most especially with regard to candidates for ordination, in saying which shall be taken as articles of faith, commonly so called, and which as articles of peace. And this difficulty calls for a correspondent increase of exertion, and cannot, by being very great, justify us in shutting our eyes against its existence, or deserting the standard of our Church. And, in fact, this difficulty now exists in the present scheme, and must be overcome, as best it may, by each bishop individually. It is not very long since the interview between Abp. Secker and Dean Peckard. The Peterborough Questions are very recent: and most bishops use some test, such as admits the principle upon which those questions were rested, or intended to be rested.

## CHAP. IX.

Sed in mitiorem partem, tum dictis, tum factis, est propendendum : nec eadem nobis homuncionibus, quæ Apostolis falli nesciis fuit, auctoritas est arroganda.

ARCHBISHOP SECKER'S Synodal Oration, 1761, p. 519.

It is strange, that while so much is said against change, as unsettling the Church, and so much is rested on the wisdom and strength of an Establishment, in the good sense of that word, our own Church institutions are yet in some measure unsettled, and our own Establishment in some points not established. Even upon the number of Articles to which the Acts of Parliament require subscription, are doubts still entertained : and as this is in itself a question of great interest, and bears directly some little, but indirectly very much, upon our present inquiry, the following account is submitted to the reader's attention.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes, in his *Journal*, p. 179, states, that, on Wednesday, April 25, 1571, Sir Robert Lane, Sir Henry Gate, Mr. Henry Knolles senior, Mr. Astley, Master of the Jewel-house, Mr. Sands, and Mr. Wentworth, were appointed to attend the Lord of Canterbury his grace, for answer touching matters of religion. Sir Henry Gate was one of the Committee appointed by the House, April 6, 1571. *Journal*, p. 70. Any

authentic account in detail of what passed at this interview between the archbishop and the Committee would shew how far the general sense of the Commons' House was represented by the tone of what Wentworth then said.

It appears, from p. 180, by a message through the Lords to a Committee of the Commons, delivered on Tuesday, May 1, 1571, that Queen Elizabeth "liked very well of the Thirty-nine Articles, and minded to publish them and have them executed by the bishops, by direction of her Highness's regal authority of supremacy of the Church of England, and not to have the same dealt in by Parliament." In the then Parliament there had been much agitation about matters of religion, which then at last the Queen so took out of the hands of the House, and promised other amendment; although the said matters and agitations were not thereupon given up, as appears especially from the proceedings of the Commons afterwards, recorded by D'Ewes, p. 184, on the 17th May 1571. On Monday, May 19, 1572, 14 Eliz. it is said by D'Ewes, p. 207: "The bill concerning rites and ceremonies was read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed. Page 212 states this bill to have been read a third time, and referred, on May 20. Page 213 contains the following paragraph, dated Thursday, May 22: 'Upon declaration made unto this House by Mr. Speaker (Robert Bell, p. 205), from the Queen's Majesty, that her Highness's pleasure is, that, from henceforth, no bills concerning religion shall be preferred, or renewed, into this House, unless the same should be first considered, and liked,

by the Clergy. And further, that her Majesty's pleasure is, to see the two last bills, read in this House, touching Rites and Ceremonies.' It is ordered by the House, that the same bills shall be delivered unto her Majesty, by all the Privy Council that are of this House, Mr. Heneage, and Mr. Doctor Wilson, Master of the Requests, or by any four of them." On the 23d May, Sir Francis Knolles, Treasurer, reported to the House the delivery of the two bills to her Majesty: who "seemed to mislike" one of them utterly, but declared her determination to "aid and maintain all good Protestants, to the discouraging of all Papists." p. 214. This first session of this Parliament ended on the 30th June. The second session of this Parliament began in the 18th of Eliz., Wednesday, Feb. 8, 1575; on which day Peter Wentworth, esquire, one of the burgesses of Tregony, made a speech, for which he was the same day examined in the Star Chamber, and imprisoned in the Tower, p. 259; but received again to his place in the House on Monday, March 12, p. 260. One paragraph in this speech begins as follows, with what seems an allusion to the Queen's message of the 22d May 1572; and not to the message on page 219, as stated at the end of the speech, p. 241, by D'Ewes.

"Now, the other was a message, Mr. Speaker, brought the last sessions into the House, that we should not deal in any matters of religion, but first to receive from the bishops: surely this was a doleful message:" and after giving the reasons for accounting it so, and declaring the Queen to have "committed great fault," Wentworth proceeds thus, p. 239: "I have heard, of

old Parliament men, that the banishment of the Pope and popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from this House, and not from the bishops: and I have heard, that few laws for religion had their foundation from them: and I do surely think, before God I speak it, that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message; and I will shew you what moveth me so to think. I was, among others, the last Parliament, sent unto the bishop of Canterbury (Parker), for the Articles of Religion that then passed this House. He asked us, why we did put out of the book the Articles for the Homilies, Consecrating of Bishops, and such like. ‘Surely, Sir,’ said I, ‘because we were so occupied by other matters, that we had no time to examine them, how they agreed with the word of God.’ ‘What?’ said he, ‘surely you mistook the matter: you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein.’ ‘No,’ by the faith I bear to God,’ said I, ‘we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes: make you popes who list,’ said I, ‘for we will make you none.’ And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me to be a pope-like speech; and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope’s Canons unto themselves, ‘Papa non potest errare:’ for surely if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not to spurn against God’s people for writing therein as they do.” And afterwards, p. 240, “The writ, Mr. Speaker, that we are called up by, is chiefly to deal in God’s cause: so that our Commission, both from God and our Prince, is to deal in God’s causes: therefore the accepting of such messages, and taking

them in good part, do highly offend God, and is the acceptation of the breach of the liberties of this honourable Council: for is it not all one thing to say, Sirs, you shall deal in such matters only, as to say, you shall not deal in such matters? so as good to have fools and flatterers in the House, as men of wisdom, grave judgment, faithful hearts, and sincere consciences: for they being taught what they shall do, can give their consents as well as the others: well, he that hath an office, saith St. Paul, let him wait on his office, or give diligent attendance upon his office." And afterwards, p. 241, he reproves some of the House for having adopted the "common policy" of voting with the best sort of the House, instead of voting as the matter giveth cause; for that "the eyes of the Lord behold all the earth, to strengthen all the hearts of them that are whole with Him." The whole speech is such as to make its readers regret the general understanding upon which all use of the Bible in argument seems now interdicted, lest it should be mis-applied.

The account of this matter in Strype's *Life of Parker*, vol. II. p. 201, and *Annals*, III. 96, and 99, and 186, is not materially different; and, as he does not quote any other authority than D'Ewes's *Journal*, he does not give his readers any means of learning any thing more about the conversation, but only of learning the bent of his own opinions. The preface which Abp. Parker wrote and prefixed to his edition of the Bible in 1572, (Strype, III. 236. App. 83.) agrees much more with what Wentworth said, than with what he himself was understood to have said at this interview. The

13th of Elizabeth began 17th Nov. 1570, and ended Nov. 1571. The Parliament of the 13th Eliz. began April 2, 1571, and was dissolved May 29, 1571. The 14th Eliz. was from Nov. 1571 to Nov. 1572. The Parliament of the 14th Eliz. began May 8, 1572, and was adjourned on Monday, June 30, 1572. About this adjournment, and the subsequent meeting or dissolution of this Parliament, it is somewhat hazardous to give an opinion ; but it is probable that this very Parliament was the same Parliament, a second session of which was next holden and met at Westminster 8th Feb. 1575, 18 Eliz., from the words which Wentworth then used, as cited ant. p. 65 : for the words "last sessions" apply truly to the message of 22d of May 1572, and "last Parliament" p. 66. apply truly to the 25th April 1571. And Wentworth's argument will be : The message of 1572, May 22, was a grievance ; and I think it is attributable to the bishops, in consequence of having myself witnessed such a spirit as would prompt such a message actuating Archbishop Parker in 1571. At all events, the next time after June 30, 1572, at which Parliament met, appears to have been on Wednesday, Feb. 8, 1575, 18th Eliz. William Jones has been said to be the writer of "Three Letters to the Author of the Confessional," printed anonymously in 1768. But this is not probable : for the "Remarks on the principles and spirit of the Confessional," to which W. Jones puts his name, have a preface commending the Three Letters as written by a judicious hand : and some have said Archbishop Secker, others, Dr. Ridley, was the author of them. The third



Letter, be the author who he may, p. 40, raises some difficulties about Wentworth's conversation with Abp. Parker, as though it were after the Act 13 Eliz. c. 12: but supposing it were so, the conversation will still serve the purpose for which it is stated here; which is not to prove the limiting clause, but to shew the principle of protestantism at work. However, it does appear, if the dates here given be correct, that the conversation was before the act, and had reference to it, being held on the 25th of April. There is some confusion, both in D'Ewes and Strype, as to dates; and the probability is, that Strype is mistaken, in his *Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. II. p. 201 (old paging 394), where he puts down this conversation vaguely to the year 1572. The statement by Strype in his *Annals*, vol. III. 98 (old paging 67), is, that the conversation took place in 1571: and yet in that page he speaks of the next Parliament being that of the 18th Eliz.

What the archbishop alludes to, as "putting out of the book the Articles for the Homilies, Consecrating of Bishops, and such like," appears to have been the clause limiting the subscription to such of the articles as only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, instead of requiring the subscription to all the thirty nine.

The stat. 13 Eliz. c. 12, sec. 1, "in order that the churches may be served with pastors of sound religion," enacts, that every person under the degree of a bishop, pretending to be a priest or minister of God's holy word and sacraments, under any other than the prescribed ordination, shall declare his assent, and

subscribe, to all the Articles of Religion, "which only concern" the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprised in "the Book of Articles agreed upon by Convocation in 1562;" and shall read a testimonial of his assent and subscription, and also the "said Articles," in church, some Sunday before the then next Christmas, or ipso facto be deprived. The 3d section enacts, that no person shall hereafter be admitted to any benefice "with cure, except he then be of the age of three and twenty years at the least, and a deacon, and shall first have subscribed 'the said' Articles, in the presence of the Ordinary, and publickly read 'the same' in the parish church of that benefice, with declaration of his unfeigned assent to 'the same.' And that every person, after the end of the then session, to be admitted to a benefice with cure, except that within two months after his induction he do publickly read 'the said' Articles in the same church whereof he shall have cure, in the time of common prayer there, with declaration of his unfeigned assent thereunto, and be admitted to minister the sacraments within one year after his induction, if he be not so admitted before, shall be, upon every such default, ipso facto immediately deprived." This act is referred to by the 23 Geo. 2. c. 28; and the "Articles there mentioned" is the mode of reference.

From this conversation between Wentworth and Archbishop Parker, and this clause in the act of Parliament, Archdeacon Blackburne, in the preface to his "Confessional," has drawn the following five conclusions: "1. That the lay part of the Legislature of that

time thought themselves as competent judges of what did or did not agree with the word of God, as the bishops. 2. That the Lay part of the Legislature of that time thought that the leaving it to the governors of the Church, exclusive of themselves, to determine what articles of religion should be established for the public confession, was to make them popes ; that is to say, invest them with a power, which, upon the principles of the Reformation, did not belong to them. 3. That, by passing the act with the limiting clause, the Legislature did not only think, but did determine, that the governors of the Church of England had no right to require the inferior clergy to subscribe to any confession of faith and doctrines, without the authority of Parliament. 4. That by passing the act with the limiting clause, no other subscription is required by it, than to those Articles ‘which only concern’ the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments. And, 5. That no other act having repealed this act, or in any wise contravened it, touching subscription to the Articles of Religion ; and the Act of Uniformity in particular (14 Car. II.) having referred to it, as the standing law, concerning subscription to the Articles of Religion ; the limiting clause is in full force to this hour.”

The last edition of the “Confessional,” which its author corrected, contains these same five conclusions, and is dated 1770. He died in 1787 : and it is matter of regret to all his readers, as it was to himself, that so many things in it should have been, as they are, “too warmly, too hastily advanced.” Honesty of

purpose will not redeem even a want of temper: and the character of an advocate, as such, for any particular scheme, is properly measured by the manner and tone in which he pleads his cause; unless, from a knowledge of his name and character, the readers can form their judgment upon other grounds. As an anonymous writer, Mr. Blackburne had not any right to complain that the Author of the Confessional should have been treated as a hard tempered man. He says of himself, in the short account of his life prefixed to his works in the edition of 1804, when he has declared that not any word in the "Free and candid disquisitions" of John Jones was suggested by himself: "The truth is, Mr. Blackburne, whatever desire he might have to forward the work of ecclesiastical reformation, which was as earnest at least as Mr. Jones's, could not possibly conform his style to the milky phraseology of the disquisitions; nor could he be content to have his sentiments mollified by the gentle qualifications of Mr. Jones's lenient pen." And all who have read his books are sorry for it; and yet will find, or make for themselves, many excuses for his "warm and hasty" language. And this language does not invalidate his arguments, or prove him on the wrong side in the controversy. The Gentleman's Magazine (vol. xli. for 1771, Sept. and Nov. p. 405 and 500; and vol. xlii. p. 263) gives a list of the publications in attack and defence of the Confessional.

Upon the 1st, 2d, and 3d conclusions of Blackburne little need be said: upon the 4th and 5th a few remarks must be allowed. It does not exactly

follow that the notions on which Wentworth insisted were the notions of the whole House. The expressions of the act are awkward, "all the Articles which only concern" and "comprised in, &c.;" and so far ambiguous, that it is not improbable some of the Commons may have understood them as asserting that all the Thirty nine Articles did concern the confession and the sacraments, and did not concern any thing else; or did alone, and without the canons or any other documents, make up the religious code: and in the Articles of Abp. Grindal's first Convocation in 1575 (Strype, p. 289, and Appen. 537), the word "only" is left out, in reciting the enactment of 13 Eliz. c. 12: and to the same effect, and strengthening the last-mentioned construction of the clause, after a statement in the text (3 Annals 105, old paging 71) that the subscribers were to subscribe thirty nine Articles in language still ambiguous, there is a marginal note concerning the limiting clause, in the following terms: "This clause seems to be inserted to meet with those of the House that moved for a new confession of faith to be made; which needed not, since those Articles of Religion was the Church of England's sufficient confession of the true Christian faith." And it seems that all the Thirty nine Articles ought, according to the general construction put on this act at the time it was made, to be subscribed; because they were subscribed by Abp. Whitgift in 1571 (Strype's Life of him, vol. i. 45 and 116); and because the faculty then granted him, states, in words, that the Thirty nine Articles were to be subscribed under an order of archbishops and bishops recited

therein, without reciting the act of Parliament, or alluding to it in any way : (Strype's Whitgift, vol. III. p. 20.) If Strype had not thought that Parliament had passed thirty nine Articles, he would have said so, when and where he does say (3 Annals 98, old paging 67) that the Committee did strike out some of the Thirty nine Articles. His words are : " Only let me add what happened to the said Committee for Religion, when, according as it was appointed, they attended the archbishop of Canterbury with their model for reformation : wherein, as some articles of religion were allowed by them, so others, already received into the Church, were left out." A general Index to Strype is said to be in preparation, which will, perhaps, correct or explain this statement. And it is further remarkable, that if Gibson, Codex I. 321. have rightly distinguished the Articles, " which only concern the confession of true faith," as being the sixteen marked with the letter F in the table below, these sixteen, together with the 25th, ' On the Sacraments,' are among the most important. This, together with Wentworth's speech, makes it possible that the limiting clause was intended, by the majority of the House, to work as such : but not more than possible. Whatever was intended, it would appear that, in effect, thirty nine have always been admitted and recognised under that statute since it was made. That thirty nine were required under it as articles of faith entirely may be inferred from Co. iv. Ins. 324, and from Smith and Clerke, Cro. Eliz. 252.

The following table will bring the Articles at once before the eye.

- F. 1. Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.
- F. 2. Of Christ the Son of God.
- F. 3. Of his going down into Hell.
- F. 4. Of his Resurrection.
- F. 5. Of the Holy Ghost.
- 6. Of the Sufficiency of the Scripture.
- 7. Of the Old Testament.
- 8. Of the Three Creeds.
- F. 9. Of Original or Birth Sin.
- F. 10. Of Free Will.
- F. 11. Of Justification.
- F. 12. Of Good Works.
- F. 13. Of Works before Justification.
- F. 14. Of Works of Supererogation.
- F. 15. Of Christ alone without sin.
- F. 16. Of Sin after Baptism.
- F. 17. Of Predestination and Election.
- F. 18. Of obtaining Salvation by Christ.
- 19. Of the Church.
- 20. Of the Authority of the Church.
- 21. Of the Authority of General Councils.
- F. 22. Of Purgatory.
- 23. Of Ministering in the Congregation.
- 24. Of Speaking in the Congregation.
- S. 25. Of the Sacraments.
- 26. Of the Unworthiness of Ministers.
- 27. Of Baptism.
- 28. Of the Lord's Supper.
- 29. Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ.
- 30. Of both kinds.
- 31. Of Christ's one Oblation.
- 32. Of the Marriage of Priests.
- 33. Of Excommunicate Persons.
- 34. Of the Traditions of the Church.
- 35. Of the Homilies.
- 36. Of Consecration of Ministers.
- 37. Of Civil Magistrates.
- 38. Of Christian Men's Goods.
- 39. Of a Christian Man's Oath.

It appears to have been the belief of all succeeding Parliaments that thirty nine Articles had been required; and to this effect is the protest of the Commons in 1627 (Kennet III. 54), although the language is ambiguous, from referring to the statute. Collier also gives this protest, II. 747. If greater care had been used in correcting this same act, it might have been inferred from the third section, cited in words antea p. 70, that thirty nine Articles were required by this very act, and this very Parliament: for they knew, and we know, that under the statute, or under the injunctions and canons, or under the "Three Articles" and the various orders for enforcing subscription to them, issued at intervals for many years, as by Abp. Whitgift in 1583 (Strype's Life, I. 229), thirty nine Articles were in practice read upon admission to any benefice: if, therefore, thirty nine had not been subscribed, and were not intended to be subscribed, the word "said," and the word "same," in the statute, mean different articles: and so assuming Gibson's Sixteen, and the Sacramental Article, to have been those really required, the third clause would have enacted that no person should be admitted unless he first had subscribed Seventeen Articles and read thirty nine: and the greater probability seems, that subscription was required by the act to thirty nine: for else the spirits, then at work, would not have allowed injunctions and canons to require the reading of thirty nine. And it is matter of history, that, afterwards, under this very act, many clergymen were deprived for refusal or neglect of subscription (Strype's Annals, III. 106 and 276),



who, "though Puritans or favourers of popery, had kept their livings and prebends till by this statute they were searched out and discovered," p. 278: and the terms used seem to imply that the subscription should have been to thirty nine Articles. The 22d Article would have thrown out the Papists: but there does not appear any one among the seventeen which would have thrown out a Puritan: and if there had been such a one, then, from the fact of the limiting clause being ineffective for the purpose alleged, it might have been inferred that such a purpose was not entertained at the time. And certainly, when this statute was passed, there do not appear to have been any opinions or prejudices which would have called for the rejection of all the Articles that were rejected, if seventeen only were adopted. The "Admonition to Parliament" was published in 1572; and answered the same year, by Abp. Whitgift: (Strype's Life, i. 57.) Cartwright's reply to Whitgift's "Answer," and "Defence of his Answer," were published in 1573. And Abp. Whitgift published his further "Defence against Cartwright" in 1573, although it is dated in 1574.

In other respects, also, much of our Church Establishment is not established by law, as commonly meaning a settled rule: but is rested upon the varying customs of various parishes, and upon the personal authority of our bishops. At this time, the Courts of Common Law may have to determine whether facts proved amount to heresy, which they decide "upon consultation and advice of learned divines;" Black. vol. i. 390: yet the bishop and his metropolitan can

reject any clergyman who may be presented to a living, by declaring him deficient in learning; that he appears to them “ *persona in literaturâ minùs sufficiens, sive capax ad habendam ecclesiam prædictam.*” *Hele v. Bp. of Ex.* 3 W. & M. 3 Lev. 313. The measure of heresy or schism is to be had from Articles of Peace: and the facts being found by a jury, might well be left to the bishop: all questions properly belonging to the Church should rest with its rulers.

Any confusion in laws or jurisdiction is undesirable, and forms a sufficient reason for inquiry by one Commission or more: and the result of such a Commission might not now be a reformation of ecclesiastical laws, but a virtual abrogation of all ecclesiastical law and courts, as distinct from other law and courts. Any detailed remarks upon the various statutes which touch upon Church matters would not be consistent with the principal object of this publication. The civil notice of ecclesiastical offences is now generally disapproved. There does not seem any good reason for giving civil power to ecclesiastical persons, or ecclesiastical courts, as such. Any power they ought to have, if had for the purpose they profess, *pro salute animarum*, must be had from the free subjection of their adherents, not from the compulsory power of law. On the other hand, the common law often ill exerts its controul over the property of the Church and the personal rights of clergymen. Bishops sit in the House of Lords as ecclesiastical persons; their baronies being reasons why they should not refuse to sit there, and why they should be compellable to sit there, which else of old

they had not been; and not reasons why they should sit there, and titles to enable them to sit there. It must be kept in mind, that now the King nominates those individuals who shall be made bishops, and that this was not the case originally. The bishops therefore cannot fairly be said to be the representatives of the clergy now. It is held the best plan that the King should nominate the bishops: and the right and expedience of such a nomination is willingly conceded by many who thereupon deny that clergymen should now be excluded by law from the House of Commons. When the mode of nominating bishops was changed, other consequent changes should have been made. If two of the three estates of this land were now represented in the House of Lords, the clergy might reasonably be excluded from the Commons, as such, even if any electors returned them. The clergy themselves or the bishops might deem it improper that clergymen should sit in the House of Commons: if so, the election to a seat need not be compulsory. The clergy are now deprived of their character as a third estate, and have also been deprived of one means of compensation. The votes they give for members of the Commons are given in respect of their property, not of their order. Without violence to our Constitution, they might as clergymen return to Parliament a proportionate number of members from each diocese, laymen or ecclesiastics. Is there any tenable reason why they should be excluded from sitting in the House of Commons, merely because they are ecclesiastical persons? A peer becoming a clergyman retains his seat in the House of Lords: a clergyman becoming a

peer takes his seat in the House of Lords. And Parliamentary duties are not held inconsistent with the pursuits of other professions. The probable non-residence of the parish priest, who might be in his place at Westminster, cannot be urged, while pluralities and non-residence are lawful on grounds much less important. Clergymen are most in their places where most business is to be done: and though some of them protest against being secularized, the term is as disagreeable as the notion is mistaken. The closet and the world, the church and the drawing-room, have all the same uses to clergymen and laymen, and all, too, the same abuses. Laymen are apt to make up for their own faults by requiring a much greater degree of holiness in the clergy: there may be some latent popery in the requisition. It is right to add here, that landowners would think it a grievance if their tenants were allowed to plead against a fair rent, the customary payment of an unfair rent, by the name of a *modus*, in cases where ancestors could not by law have bound their successors; and that reduced rent were confessedly too little for their support in a rank, which, as a body, they are expected to maintain.

Upon inquiry, many changes might be debated usefully. Full payment of all tithes should be insisted upon; and each cure should be made a living. If tithes were fully paid, the surplus so gained might be well applied to Church purposes in many ways. A considerable sum might be raised by licensing the sale of next presentations; if, indeed, such sales be ever advisable. The patronage of all livings might in less than a

century, be vested in any bodies or individuals, without injury to private property. Two of our bishoprics might be raised into archbishoprics: and each bishop be translated only within his own province, with which he would so become better acquainted. The archbishops need not be under any restrictions.

Advowsons and next presentations are at present under different regulations, such as imply that the principle is, money shall not put a man into a cure of souls, lest, indirectly, money should become a reason for undertaking such a cure. But this principle is not adhered to: a father is not nearer to his son than he is to himself: and it is the same thing to the Church, whether a father or a stranger be the patron. The regulations about selling and buying, not orders in the Church, but livings, which can only be held by those who have previously received orders, should be reviewed. They are now such, as to render cheaper any saleable living to him who disregards the plain and avowed purpose of the statutes, and measures simony by decisions of court; in as much as they preclude the competition of those who recognise the purpose of the statutes and canons, and obey them, although they think them mistaken. Simony, as forbidden by 31 Eliz. c. 6. sec. 10. is consistent with the common notion among men: but that it should be simony for a priest to buy a living, is a misapplication of the term. This misapplication may have arisen from the recital of the purpose of this statute; which, in sec. 4, is declared to be for “the avoiding of simony and corruption in presentations, collations, and donations of and to benefices, dignities,

prebends, and other livings and promotions ecclesiastical, and in admissions, institutions, and inductions to the same;" and it is not until the tenth and last section that simony, strictly so called, is forbidden. According to Coke, 3 Inst. c. 71. p. 153. "*Simonia est vox ecclesiastica, à Simone illo Mago deducta, qui donum Spiritûs Sancti pecuniis emi putavit.*" And Elizabeth's advisers estimated the offence of him who sold holy orders at 40*l.*, and the offence of him who bought them at 10*l.* and a disqualification for seven years from any further benefice, living, or promotion ecclesiastical. Black. Comm. iv. 63. The Stat. of Anne (stat. 2. c. 12. sec. 2) is far different; and is not enough known, and is therefore given here in its own words: "And whereas some of the clergy have procured preferments for themselves by buying ecclesiastical livings, and others have been thereby discouraged; Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That if any person, from and after the 29th day of September 1714, shall or do, for any sum of money, reward, gift, profit, or advantage, directly or indirectly, or for or by reason of any promise, agreement, grant, bond, covenant, or other assurance, of or for any sum of money, reward, gift, profit, or benefit whatsoever, directly or indirectly, in his own name, or in the name of any other person or persons, take, procure, or accept the next avoidance of or presentation to, any benefice with cure of souls, dignity, prebend, or living ecclesiastical, and shall be presented or collated thereupon, that then every such presentation or collation, and every admission, institution, investiture, and induction upon the same, shall be utterly void, frustrate, and

of no effect in law, and such agreement shall be deemed and taken to be a simoniacal contract; and that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Queen's Majesty, her heirs and successors, to present or collate unto, or give or bestow every such benefice, dignity, prebend, and living ecclesiastical, for that one time or turn only; and the person so corruptly taking, procuring, or accepting any such benefice, dignity, prebend, or living, shall thereupon, and from thenceforth, be adjudged a disabled person in law to have and enjoy the same benefice, dignity, prebend, or living ecclesiastical; and shall also be subject to any punishment, pain, or penalty, limited, prescribed, or inflicted, by the laws ecclesiastical, in like manner as if such corrupt agreement had been made after such benefice, dignity, prebend, or living ecclesiastical had become vacant; any law or statute to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding."

This is not a mere dispute about terms; for many rest the propriety of forbidding the sale of livings upon the offence of Simon Magus, with which it has not any direct connexion. If livings ought not to be bought and sold, let an effectual law be made to that effect: if they ought, remove the present partial bar. Under the restrictions upon sale, a Christian patron can provide for a Christian minister without injury to his own property, and without any shock to the feelings of the minister: an advantage which should not lightly be abandoned.

## CHAP. X.

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Until all thoughts of victory are laid aside, the humble and necessary thought for the vindication of truth cannot be enough entertained.—KENNET'S *History*, 226.

THESE words are taken from the Declaration of King Charles, dated at Whitehall, 25th of October 1660; which is given at length in Wilkin's *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 569; and also by Kennet, vol. iii. p. 225: the principal part of it concerns the government of the Church. The seventh among the Concessions is in the words following: "We are very glad to find, that all with whom we have conferr'd, do in their judgments approve a Liturgy, or set form of publick worship, to be lawful; which in our judgment, for the preservation of unity and uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary. And though we do conceive the Liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be the best we have seen; and we believe that we have seen all that are extant, and used in this part of the world; and we well know what reverence most of the Reformed Churches, or at least the most learned men in those Churches, have for it; yet since we find some exceptions made against several things therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned divines, of both



perswasions, to review the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary ; and some additional Forms (in the Scripture phrase as near as may be) suited unto the several parts of worship, and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or other at his discretion. In the mean time, and until this be done, although we do heartily wish and desire that the ministers in their several churches, because they dislike some clauses and expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the book of Common Prayer, but read those parts against which there can be no exception, which would be the best instance of declining those marks of distinction which we so much labour and desire to remove : yet, in compassion to divers of our good subjects, who scruple the use of it as now it is, our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be review'd and effectually reformed as aforesaid."

Kennet sets out at length this Declaration ; and then says, " That though very large, it cannot be tedious to any good reader, because it has a spirit of truth and wisdom and charity above any one public profession that was ever yet made in matters of religion. It shews the admirable temper and prudence of the King and his Council, in that tender juncture of affairs. It proves the charity and moderation of the suffering bishops, in thinking such concessions to be just and reasonable for peace and unity ; and it shews a disposition in the chief leaders, of the other party, to have accepted of terms of union consistent with our Episcopacy and Liturgy. It condemns the unhappy ferments that

soon after followed for want of coming to this temper ; and it may stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are heartily disposed to restore the discipline and heal up the breaches of the Church. A very learned Conformist writer has given this character of it : ‘ If ever a divine sentence was in the mouth of any King, and his mouth erred not in judgment, I verily believe it was thus with our present Majesty, when he composed that admirable Declaration ; which, next to Holy Scripture, I adore, and think that the united judgment of the whole nation cannot frame a better or a more unexceptionable expedient for a firm and lasting concord of these distracted Churches.’ ” p. 229.

This Declaration was followed by the Commission of 1661 : from which the directions given to the Commissioners have been quoted, anteà, p. 8. In the preface to his Prayer Book, Bp. Mant has quoted Wheatly’s account of the Savoy Conference, p. 30, but left out some of Wheatly’s offensive language. And even so, on Bp. Mant’s pages, the expressions of Wheatly shew a mistaken feeling. He talks about “ heaping together scruples a hundred years old,” which is but an invidious way of stating what was to the credit of those who did it, especially in the judgment of persons who object against a new Liturgy “ that it was drawn up without any regard to any other Liturgy, modern or ancient.” The phrase “ As if these old scruples were not enough, they swelled the number of them with new ones of their own,” means nothing as against those whom it is intended to charge with doing something improper. Not any ill usage

could draw or warrant, or could reasonably be thought to draw or warrant, "the disdain and contempt of any that were" really "concerned for the Church." From the Homily against Contention, we learn, "That it is better to give place meekly, than to win the victory with the breach of charity : which chanceth, when every man will defend his opinion obstinately. There shall never be an end of striving and contention, if we contend who in contention shall be master and have the over-hand : we shall heap error upon error, if we continue to defend that obstinately which was spoken unadvisedly." p. 114.

"An Account of all the Proceedings of the Commissioners of both Perswasions" was published under that title in 1661. Collier's account will be found in his History, vol. II. p. 878 ; and Baxter's, in his Life, published by Silvester, p. 305. Calamy's account is in the 8th chapter of his Life of Baxter, p. 153 ; and Kennet's account is in the 3d vol. of his History, p. 234. Sheldon, then bishop of London, required the other party to bring in all they had to say against the Liturgy in writing, and all the additional forms and alterations which they desired, as until then the Churchmen had nothing to say or do. The Presbyterians were much against that motion, and urged the King's Commission, which required them to meet together to advise and consult : they told Bp. Sheldon, that by conference each party might perceive, as they went along, what each would yield to ; but the bishop "resolutely insisted on it not to do any thing till the Presbyterians brought in all their exceptions, alterations, and addi-

tions at once : and in this Baxter confesses he was wholly of the bishop's mind, and prevailed with his brethren to consent thereto ; yet, as he well conjectures, upon contrary reasons." Silvester, p. 306. After some debate, it was then agreed that the Non-conformists should bring in all their exceptions at one time, and all their additions at another.

The present purpose is, not to defend or attack Churchmen or Non-conformists, but to state what took place then, as a means of learning what might be done now, if all parties will bear and forbear. The concessions of Abp. Usher, Abp. Williams, Bps. Morton and Holdsworth, and others, in a Committee at Westminster in 1641, were then in the hands of the Non-conformists, and are printed in Silvester's Life, p. 369—372. Eighteen innovations in doctrine, and twenty one in discipline, are stated ; and then come thirty five considerations upon the book of Common Prayer. The fourth is, " whether lessons of canonical Scripture should be put into the Kalender instead of Apocrypha : " and the substance of them is adopted in the exceptions taken at this time. The exceptions were dated August 30, 1661 ; and, in Silvester's Life of Baxter, occupy 17 pages, including a sensible preface. They are abridged in Calamy's Life, p. 154 to 158. The reformed Liturgy was drawn up by Baxter ; and is printed at the end of Calamy's Life of him. Baxter also drew up some exceptions, which are printed in Silvester's Life of him, p. 308, and which were rejected " by the brethren, because they could not, by so particular an enumeration of faults, provoke those that they had to do with,"

which Baxter “misliked not, but from the beginning told them he was not of their mind who charged the Common Prayer with false doctrine or idolatry or false worship in the matter or substance;” and declared his opinion that it was a true worship, though imperfect.

The bishops sent a paper of reasonings against these exceptions, which was answered by the Non-conformists; but Calamy says, p. 161, there is some reason to think neither this reply nor the reformed Liturgy was read by the generality of the bishops and doctors. At last, the Commission, which had been issued for four months only, was near expiring; and there being but ten days left, the Non-conformists obtained a personal conference with the bishops, and, at the meeting, they received the reply to their answer.

The proceedings at this Conference in the Savoy afford an useful lesson to all those who may now ask or refuse any changes in the Liturgy. Some amendments and alterations were proposed at that time by the episcopal divines; which were afterwards adopted by Convocation, and are quoted in the preface of Bp. Mant, apparently from Wheatly. But nothing was effected towards a reconciliation of two parties, whose faults are even now more easily seen than avoided. At the close of the last day, it was mutually agreed, that the Report of the Conference should be delivered to the King in writing, and that each party should give in this general account, that the Church’s welfare, that unity and peace, and his Majesty’s satisfaction, were ends upon which they were all agreed; but as to the means, they could not come to any harmony. Collier, p. 885. It appears a great

error to have a council of two distinct parties. All the Commissioners should have been Churchmen, whether ecclesiastics or not; and the Non-conformists might have given such advice or explanation as they were asked to give, as witnesses or assessors for a given time and purpose, but not as fellow-counsellors.

The act of Uniformity was shortly afterward passed; and the time limited for Conformity was the Feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, 1662, by which day it was almost impossible for many of the Non-conformists to have seen the book of Common Prayer which they were required to adopt, as there was great delay in printing the book. It did not go to the press till some months after it was subscribed and ratified by Parliament, and was not published until a few weeks before St. Bartholomew. There is quoted by D'Oyley, in his *Life of Abp. Sancroft*, p. 111, a note from Nichols, that on the 8th of March, Abp. Sancroft, Scattergood, and Dillingham were appointed, by the bishops, supervisors of the press, when the book should be printed. It may be observed here, that four of the Non-conformist Commissioners afterwards conformed, Wallis, Horton, Lightfoot, and Conant. Kennet's Reg. 748.

From the Register of Bp. Kennet, fol. 1728, the following particulars are taken: "The bill for Uniformity passed the Lords, Wednesday, April 9, 1662. The Conference with the Commons was the next day; and the amendments sent from the Lords were read in the Commons' House, Saturday, April 12. (p. 658.) These amendments were debated many days. On the 21st April, the printing of the Prayer Book was mentioned

in the Upper House of Convocation. On the 6th of May, a message from the Commons urged the Lords to give dispatch to the bill for Uniformity (675), who finally passed it on Ascension Day, May 8; (680.) and announced it to the Commons, Saturday, May 10. On the 19th May, the royal assent was given, and Parliament prorogued; and the Convocation of Canterbury prorogued the next day. There was some debate whether the act of Uniformity should be executed or relaxed and in a manner suspended, in July, and especially in Council, Aug. the 13th and 18th (730): the great objection appears to have been the disavowal of the solemn league and covenant, p. 743. Nichols observes: "It was indeed a sad spectacle to see so many good pastors torn away from their flocks: but this was a remarkable instance of the wonderful exactness of the divine justice; that this oath of the covenant, which the Puritans devised to displace the Episcoparians from their preferments, should be turn'd to their own ruin the very same way which they had laid against their adversaries." p. 81. edit. of 1715.

The act of Uniformity had been brought up from the Commons on the 10th of July, 1661. On August 6, 1662, public advertisement was given, "that, in pursuance of the late act for Uniformity of Public Prayers in the Church of England, the book itself is now perfectly and exactly printed; and, by the great care and prudence of the most reverend archbishops and bishops, books in folio are provided for all churches and chapels in this kingdom. The price of which book, tho' it

contains 165 sheets, is ordered to be but six shillings, ready bound." p. 739.

The bishop of Peterborough allowed, as an excuse for not reading the new Liturgy, that it could not be gotten by the dean and prebendaries of Peterborough until August the 17th. (743.) Calamy and others petitioned: and the King declared in Council, Aug. 28, he intended an indulgence, if it were at all feasible; but Bp. Sheldon prevailed, and it was carried, that no indulgence should be granted.

The attempt to give effect to a scheme for Comprehension, set on foot by Ld. Keeper Bridgman in 1668, is mentioned in Burnet's *Life of Hale*, pp. 70—73, and Kennet 272, and in Silvester, part 3. p. 23 to 39. The following account of it is reprinted from Silvester's and from Calamy's *Life of Baxter*, ch. 12. p. 317: "In January 1668, Mr. Baxter received a letter from Dr. Manton, intimating that he was told by Sir John Barber, that the Lord Keeper Bridgman desir'd to confer with them two, about a Comprehension and Toleration. Hereupon he came to London, and they two waited on the Lord Keeper; who told them that he had sent for them, to think of a way of their restauration: to which end he had some proposals to offer to them, which were for a comprehension for the Presbyterians, and an indulgence for the Independents, and the rest. They ask'd him, whether it was his pleasure, that they should offer him their opinion of the means, or only receive what he offer'd to them. He reply'd, that he had something to offer, but they might also make their own proposals.



Mr. Baxter told him, he tho't they might be able to offer him such terms (without injuring any one) as might take in both Presbyterians and Independents, and all sound Christians, into the publick establish'd ministry. He answer'd, that that was a thing that he would not have, and so it was agreed to go first upon the comprehension. A few days after he sent his proposals. After this they met with Dr. Wilkins, the author of the proposals, and his chaplain, Mr. Burton, to confer about the matter."

Some proposals had been made by Baxter, Manton, and Bates, which were presently rejected. They began with, " That the credenda and agenda in religion being distinguished, no profession of assent be required, but only to the holy canonical Scriptures in general, and to the creeds and thirty six articles in particular.

Afterwards, Baxter states (Silvester's Life, part 3. p. 38) the reasons why they could not consent to re-ordination: and says, that besides some rejected alterations in the proposals made to them, they offered Dr. Wilkins the emendation of the Liturgy there printed, containing in some points less and in some points more than his own proposals; " for in that Dr. Wilkins was not streight."

" The Lord Keepers, or Dr. Wilkins's proposals were these: (Calamy, p. 317.)

" In Order to a Comprehension, it is humbly offer'd,

" ' 1. That such persons as in the late times of disorder have been ordain'd by Presbyters, shall be admitted to the exercise of the ministerial function, by

the imposition of the hands of the bishop, with this or the like form of words: Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments, in any congregation of the Church of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto. An expedient much of this nature was practic'd and allow'd of, in the case of the Catharists and Meletians. Vid. 8th Canon Conc. Nic.: and Synodical Epistle of the same to the Churches of Egypt, Gelasius Cyzicenus, Hist. Con. Nic. Second Part.

“ ‘ 2. That all persons to be admitted to any ecclesiastical function or dignity, or the employment of a schoolmaster, (after the oaths of allegiance and supremacy) shall (instead of all former subscriptions) be requir'd to subscribe this, or the like form of words. I, A. B. do hereby profess and declare, that I do approve the doctrines, worship and government establish'd in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is so established: and I do hereby promise, that I will continue in the communion of the Church of England, and will not do any thing to disturb the peace thereof.

“ ‘ 3. That the gesture of kneeling at the Sacrament, and the use of the cross in Baptism, and bowing at the name of Jesus, may be left indifferent, or may be taken away, as shall be tho't most expedient.

“ ‘ 4. That in case it be thought fit to review and alter the Liturgy and Canons for the satisfaction of Dissenters, that then every person to be admitted to

preach, shall, upon his institution, or admission to preach, upon some Lord's Day (within a time to be limited) publickly and solemnly read the said Liturgy, and openly declare his assent to the lawfulness of the use of it, and shall promise, that it shall be constantly used at the time and place accustomed.'

" In Order to Indulgence of such Protestants as cannot be comprehended under the publick establishment, it is humbly offered,

" ' 1. That such Protestants may have liberty for the exercise of religion in publick, and at their own charges to build or procure places for their publick worship, either within or near towns, as shall be tho't most expedient.

" ' 2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty, be registred, together with the congregations to which they belong, and the names of their teachers.

" ' 3. That every one admitted to this liberty, be disabled to bear any publick office, but shall fine for offices of burden.

" ' 4. And that upon shewing a certificate of their being listed among those who are indulg'd, they shall be freed from such legal penalties, as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish churches.

" ' 5. And such persons so indulged shall not for their meeting in conventicles, be punish'd by confiscation of estates.

" ' 6. Provided that they be obliged to pay all publick duties to the parish where they inhabit under penalty.

" ' 7. This indulgence to continue for three years.'

“ That the Liturgy may be alter'd by omitting, &c.

“ ‘ By using the Reading Psalms in the new translation. By appointing some other Lessons out of the Canonical Scripture instead of those taken out of the Apocrypha. By not enjoining godfathers and godmothers when either of the parents are ready to answer for the child. By omitting that clause in the prayer at Baptism, ‘ By spiritual regeneration.’ By changing that question, ‘ Wilt thou be baptized,’ into ‘ Wilt thou have this child baptized.’ By omitting those words in the Thanksgiving after Publick and Private Baptism, ‘ To regenerate this infant by thy Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption :’ And the first Rubrick after Baptism, ‘ It is certain by God’s word,’ &c. By changing those words in the Exhortation after Baptism, ‘ Regenerate and grafted into the body,’ into ‘ Received into the Church of Christ.’ By not requiring reiteration of any part of the Service about Baptism in Publick, when it is evident that the child hath been lawfully baptiz’d in private. By omitting that clause in the Collect after imposition of hands in Confirmation, ‘ After the example of thy holy Apostles, and to certify them by this sign, of thy favour, and gracious goodness towards them.’ And by changing that other passage in the Prayer before Confirmation, ‘ Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate,’ &c. into ‘ Who hast vouchsafed to receive these thy servants into thy Church by baptism.’ By omitting that clause in the office of Matrimony, ‘ With my body I thee worship :’ and that in the Collect, ‘ Who hast consecrated,’ &c. By allowing ministers some liberty in the Visitation of the Sick, to use such other prayers as

they shall judge expedient. By changing that clause in the Prayer at Burial, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy to take unto himself,' &c. into, 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this world, the soul,' &c. : and that clause, 'In a sure and certain hope,' &c. into, 'In a full assurance of the resurrection by our Lord Jesus Christ,' &c. By omitting that clause, 'We give thee hearty thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our brother out of the miseries of this sinful world : ' and that other, 'As our hope is this our brother doth.' By changing that clause in the Communion Service, 'Our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body,' &c. into, 'Our sinful souls and bodies may be cleansed by his precious body and blood.' By not enjoyning the reading of the Communion. That the Liturgy may be abbreviated as to the length of it, especially as to Morning Service, by omitting all the Responsal Prayers, from 'O Lord, open thou our,' &c. to the Litany : and the Litany, and all the Prayers from, 'Son of God, we beseech thee,' &c. ; to, 'We humbly beseech thee, O Father,' &c. By not enjoyning the use of the Lord's Prayer above once, viz. immediately after the Absolution, except after the Minister's Prayer before Sermon. By using the Gloria Patria only once, viz. after the Reading Psalms. By omitting the Venite Exultemus, unless it be tho't fit to put any, or all of the first seven among the Sentences at the beginning. By omitting the Communion Service at such times as are not Communion days ; excepting the Ten Commandments, which may be read after the Creed : and enjoyning

the prayer, ‘ Lord, have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep these laws,’ only once at the end. By omitting the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, except only on particular holidays. By inserting the Prayers for the Parliament into the Litany, immediately after the Prayer for the Royal Family, in this or the like form : ‘ That it may please thee to direct and prosper all the consultations of the High Court of Parliament, to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the Church, the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and his kingdoms.’ By omitting the two Hymns in the Consecration of Bishops, and the Ordination of Priests. That after the First Question in the Catechism, ‘ What is your name ?’ this may follow, ‘ When was this name given you ?’ And after that, ‘ What was promis’d for you in baptism ?’ Answer : ‘ Three things were promised for me,’ &c. In the Question before the Commandments it may be alter’d, ‘ You said it was promis’d for you,’ &c. To the Fourteenth Question, ‘ How many sacraments hath Christ ordained ?’ the answer may be, ‘ Two only, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.’

“ Mr. Baxter and his brethren mov’d for other things to be added : and Dr. Wilkins professed himself willing of more, but said that more would not pass with the Parliament. The things desir’d to be added, were such as these.

“ That such as had been ordain’d by Presbyters, and were in this way admitted into the Establish’d Church, might have leave to give in their professions, that they renounc’d not their former ordinations, &c. That the subscription might be only to the Scriptures, and the

doctrinal Articles of the Church, &c. That the power of bishops, chancellors, and other ecclesiastical officers to suspend or silence might be more limited ; That there might be an explicit owning the Baptismal covenant insisted on in the case of all admitted to full communion ; That a conjunction of honest neighbours for private religious exercises might not be taken for Conventicles ; And that such as deride or scorn at Christianity or the Holy Scriptures might be numbered with the scandalous sinners mention'd in the Canons and Rubrick, and not admitted to the Communion, &c.

“ After a long debate, a bill was drawn up by Judge Hale, to be presented to the Parliament. But they no sooner sate, than the High Church party made such an interest, as that, upon putting it to the vote, it was carry'd that no man should bring an act of this nature into the House ; and so they prevented all talk or motion of such a thing. And the Lord Keeper, who set it on foot, grew as indifferent about it as any one, when he saw which way the stream was strongest.”

## CHAP. XI.

Οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτοιμὰ μᾶλλον τρέπονται.—THUCYD. I. 20.

THE conference in the Jerusalem Chamber is not mentioned by Bp. Mant, in the preface to his Prayer Book, and requires a notice of several matters which occurred before it was held. The first Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, by James the Second, dated April 4, 1687, is given by Kennet, p. 463: and the second, dated the 27th April 1688, on p. 481. On the 4th May 1688, the Order in Council was made, directing the last Declaration to be read in all churches and chapels through the kingdom. On the 29th of June following, the trial of the seven bishops took place: in regard to which, D'Oyly, in his Life of Abp. Sancroft, gives the particulars here stated. These men, and such as these, redeem the page of history; shewing the difference between conscience and rebellion, and setting a most Christian and manly pattern for all generations. Their names were: Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph; Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, bishop of Chichester; Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells; White, bishop of Peterborough; and Sir John Trelawney, bishop of Bristol. In addition



to these seven, there assembled at Lambeth, on Friday, May 18, 1688, Compton, bishop of London; and Drs. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tennison, Sherlock, and Grove: and there the Petition was framed, which was presented to the King the evening of that same day, by the six bishops; Abp. Sancroft being then forbidden the Court. The Petition was afterwards signed by the bishops of London, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter: the latest, the bishop of Exeter, signed it May 29. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, did not receive Abp. Sancroft's letter in due time, the archbishop having sent a servant to the first country post-office on the Norwich road, in order that his letter might not be stopped at the London post-office, where all suspected letters were, at that time, opened every night. The counsel for the bishops were: Sawyer, formerly Attorney-General, Pemberton, Finch, Pollexfen, Levinz, Treby, and Sommers, afterwards Lord Sommers. Sir Roger Langley was foreman of the jury. The Chief, and one Puisne Judge of the King's Bench, charged the jury that the Petition mounted to a libel. The other two Puisne Judges, Holloway and Powel, pronounced it no libel; and were, on the 7th July following, dismissed from their stations by James. The jury debated their verdict all night, and sent word they were ready to give their verdict at six in the morning of June 30, 1688. At ten, the bishops were brought into court, and the verdict given: and well might then be raised that "wonderful shout," as Lord Clarendon says, who was present, "that one would have thought the hall had cracked." The memory of it has not died away; and

whenever such a wind may come sweeping over the hearts of Englishmen, it should be nobly charged with the same reviving cheer. History bears ample witness, that useful learning and liberty are at least as much indebted to Ecclesiastics, Papists and Protestants, as to any class of men: and this is proof, that, as a body, they well improve the talents committed to their stewardship: and the crown of the whole matter is, that it were invidious to mention any names, except in regard to some particular occasion: when and where they are wanted, there will they be found, and there are they recorded.

In July 1688, Abp. Sancroft sent round to his clergy the eleven Articles of advice, whereof the eleventh is as follows, p. 324:

‘ That they also walk in wisdom towards those that are not of our communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion: more especially, that they have a very tender regard to our brethren the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or at least that “whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.” And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the

errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for the universal blessed union of all reformed churches both at home and abroad against our common enemies; that all they, who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.' Dr. D'Oyly then says, p. 330 :

“ The Protestant Dissenters showed at this time a peculiarly mild disposition towards the Established Church, partly from the pressing danger of popery, which naturally tended to unite all Protestants in mutual good feeling, and in views of mutual support; and partly from the admiration and gratitude which they felt for the firm and dignified stand which the members of the Church had made, so much to their honour, both by their unanswerable writings and by their public measures, against the designs of the Roman Catholics. In consequence of this temper now displayed by the Protestant Dissenters, Archbishop Sancroft was induced to set on foot a scheme of comprehension, in which his purpose seems to have been, to make such alterations in the Liturgy and in the discipline of the Church, in points not deemed of essential and primary importance, as might prove the means, through corresponding concessions on the part of the more moderate Dissenters, of admitting them within its pale. It were to be wished,

as matter of curious information, that we possessed more knowledge than has reached us, of the details of the plan which he proposed, and of the extent to which he proceeded in it. Our principal information respecting it is derived from the speech of Dr. Wake, delivered by him some years after, when Bishop of Lincoln, at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. This prelate, in consequence of the misrepresentations which were industriously made of this scheme, which had been termed a popular engine to pull down the Church, was induced to enter into a short detail of what had really been intended. He stated, that the person who first concerted this supposed design against our Church was the late most reverend Dr. Sancroft, then archbishop of Canterbury. ‘The time was towards the end of the late unhappy reign, when we were in the height of our labours in defending the Church of England against the assaults of popery, and thought of nothing else. At this time, that wise prelate, foreseeing a revolution such as that which soon after occurred, began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the Restoration of King Charles II. to settle many things to the advantage of the Church ; and what a happy opportunity had been lost, for want of such previous care, for its more perfect establishment. It was visible to all the nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our divines had made against popery, and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation of it, as to express an unusual readiness to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth while, when they were deliberating about those other

matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to gain them without doing any prejudice to ourselves.'

" 'The scheme,' he proceeds, 'was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the approbation, but by the direction, of that great prelate, to such of our divines as were thought most worthy to be intrusted with it. His Grace took one part himself; another was committed to a pious and reverend person (Dr. Patrick), then a dean, and afterwards a bishop of our Church. The reviewing of the daily service of our Liturgy and the Communion-book was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of whom are at this time upon our bench (Dr. Sharp, archbishop of York, and Dr. J. Thorn, bishop of Ely,) and, I am sure, will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was, in short, this: to improve, and, if possible, amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy by correcting some things, by adding others, and, if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should be legally considered, first in Convocation, then in Parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their nature, also indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply.'

" 'How far this good design was not only known to, but approved by, the other fathers of our Church, that famous Petition for which seven of them were committed to the Tower, and which contributed so much to our

deliverance, may suffice to show. “The willingness they there declared of coming to such a temper as should be thought fit, with the Dissenters, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation,” manifestly referred to what was then known to several, if not all, of the subscribers, to have been at that very time under deliberation. And, that nothing more was intended than has been stated, is no less evident from what was publicly declared in a treatise, purposely written to recommend the design when it was brought before the two Houses of Parliament in the beginning of the late reign, and licensed by the authority of a noble peer, who was at that time Secretary of State. In the very beginning of which is this remarkable passage: “No alteration, that I know of, is intended but in things declared to be alterable by the Church itself. And, if things alterable be altered upon the grounds of prudence and charity, and things defective be supplied, and things abused be restored to their proper use, and things of a more ordinary composition revised and improved, whilst the doctrine, government, and worship of the Church remain entire in all the substantial parts of them, we have all reason to believe that this will be so far from injuring the Church, that, on the contrary, it will receive a great benefit from it.” ’

“Such is the only account which we possess of the scheme of comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft. That it originated on his part from the purest and best of motives, and that his sole object was to give stability to the Church, and to extend the influence of

sound religion, can admit of no question. Circumstances prevented his bringing it to a conclusion : but a similar attempt was made soon after the Revolution, which proved altogether abortive. Judging from the result of that later attempt, and from the similar results which have generally followed from plans of this description, we may conjecture, with some probability, that, although all would have been effected by Archbishop Sancroft, which could be effected by a spirit of conciliation, mixed with firmness and discretion, the scheme which he projected, had he been enabled to persevere in it, would not have been attended with any successful result."

The Declaration of William, previous to his landing in England, was dated October 10, 1688 : and was read before him in the Cathedral at Exeter, by Dr. Burnet, on Friday, November 9, 1688. On the 11th December, the day after James first left London, was published the Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. On the 16th December, the King again left London, and William took possession of St. James's. On the 21st December 1688, the bishop of London, attended with some of his own clergy and with some of the dissenting ministers, and, in his own and their names, thanked William for his preservation of the Protestant religion. Ken. 521. On the 13th February, the Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons assembled at Westminster was read before the Prince and Princess in the Banqueting House at Whitehall; who were on the same day, being Ash Wednesday, solemnly proclaimed King and Queen

of England. On Saturday, 16th of March, 1688, William made his first formal speech from the throne : of which speech, the following words made more than half : “ I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies that are in offices and places of trust, by this late Revolution. I hope you are sensible there is a necessity of some law to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places : I recommend to your care, to make a speedy provision for it. And as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve.” Kennet, p. 518.

On p. 522, Kennet observes, that “ there was at this time a glorious opportunity of reconciling all moderate Dissenters to the communion of the Church of England ; which might have been happily effected, if this extraordinary juncture had been well managed and improved. For the bishops, and most eminent clergy, had publicly professed to King James their being willing to come to a temper with their dissenting brethren : and they had made their applications to the Prince of Orange, upon the like assurances of peace and union by all proper and lawful means. And, at the same time, there was a like amicable disposition in the body of the Dissenters, who took care to represent their desires of accommodation by the mouth of Dr. Bates, who, being attended by very many dissenting ministers, made to their Majesties” the speeches then cited.

Pursuant to the speech of William, before cited, as made on March the 16th, when the act for abrogating



the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and appointing other oaths in their stead, was read a second time in the House of Lords, a clause was ordered to be brought in to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament to make a man capable of having an office: but this clause was rejected; and seven Lords entered a protest against its rejection, for the following reasons:

“ 1. That an hearty union among Protestants was a greater security to the Church and State, than any Test that cou'd be invented. 2. That an obligation to receive the sacrament in churches, was now a Test on the Protestants, rather than on the Papists; and as long as it was so continu'd, there cou'd not be that hearty and perfect union among Protestants, as had always been wish'd, and was at this time indispensably necessary. And, lastly, That a greater caution ought not to be requir'd from such as were admitted into offices, than from the members of the two Houses of Parliament, who were not oblig'd to receive the sacrament, to enable 'em to sit in either House.” Kennet, p. 519.

The King's party then endeavoured to make it enough to qualify for office if the sacrament were received according to the usage of the Church of England, or any other Protestant congregation, within a year before or after office taken; but this measure also was rejected; and six Lords entered a protest against its rejection, for the following reasons:

“ 1. Because it gives a great part of the Protestant freemen of England reason to complain of inequality and hard-usage, when they are excluded from publick employments by law: and also, because it deprives the

King and kingdom of divers men fit and capable to serve the publick, in several stations ; and that for a meer scruple of conscience, which can by no means render them suspected, much less disaffected to the Government. 2. Because his Majesty, as the common and indulgent father of his people, having express'd an earnest desire of liberty for tender consciences, to his Protestant subjects ; and my lords the bishops having, divers of them, on several occasions, profess'd an inclination to, and own'd the reasonableness of such a Christian temper ; we apprehend it will raise suspicion in some men's minds, of something else than the care of religion, or the publick, and different from a design to heal our breaches, when they find, that by confining secular employments to ecclesiastical conformity, those are shut out from civil affairs, whose doctrine and worship may be tolerated by authority of Parliament ; there being a bill before us, by order of the House, to that purpose : especially when, without this exclusive rigour, the Church is secur'd in all her privileges and preferments ; nobody being hereby let in to them, who is not strictly conformable. 3. Because, to set marks of distinction or humiliation on any sort of men, who have not rendred themselves justly suspected to the Government, as it is at all times to be avoided by the makers of just and equitable laws, so may be of particularly ill effect to the Reformed interest at home and abroad, in this present conjuncture, which stands in need of the united hands and hearts of all Protestants, against the open attempts and secret endeavours of a restless party, and a potent neighbour, who is more zealous than Rome itself to

plant popery in these kingdoms ; and labours, with the utmost force, to settle his tyranny upon the ruines of the Reformation, all through Europe. 4. Because it turns the edge of a law (we know not by what fate) upon Protestants, and friends to the Government, which was intended against Papists, to exclude them from places of trust, as men avowedly dangerous to our Government and religion : and thus, the taking the sacrament, which was enjoyn'd only as a means to discover Papists, is now made a distinguishing duty amongst Protestants, to weaken the whole, by casting-off a part of them. 5. Because mysteries of religion, and divine worship, are of divine original, and of a nature so wholly distinct from the secular affairs of politick society, that they cannot be applied to those ends ; and therefore, the Church, by the law of the Gospel, as well as common prudence, ought to take care, neither to offend tender consciences within itself, nor give offence to those without, by mixing their sacred mysteries with secular interests. 6. Because we cannot see how it can consist with the law of God, common equity, or the right of any free-born subject, that any one be punish'd without crime. If it be a crime, not to take the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, every-one ought to be punish'd for it ; which nobody affirms : if it be no crime, those who are capable, and judg'd fit for employments by the King, ought not to be punish'd with a law of exclusion, for not doing that which 'tis no crime to forbear. If it be urg'd still, as an effectual test to discover and keep out Papists ; the taking the sacrament in these Protestant congregations where they

are members, and known, will be at least as effectual to that purpose." Kennet, p. 519.

On the 5th of April, when the Lords had under their consideration the reports of the amendments in the bill for uniting their Majesty's Protestant subjects, a particular clause was debated, concerning a commission to be given out by the King to the bishops and others of the clergy; and it was proposed that some layman should be added to the commission: but, as the votes on both sides were equal, the proposal was rejected. Some Peers protested against the rejection, for the following reasons: Kennet, 549.

" 1. Because the act itself being, as the preamble sets forth, designed for the peace of the State; the putting the clergy into commission, with a total exclusion of the laity, lays this humiliation on the laity, as if the clergy of the Church of England were alone friends to the peace of the State, and the laity less able, or less concerned to provide for it.

" 2. Because the matter to be considered being barely of humane constitution, viz. the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church of England, which had their establishment from King, Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in Parliament, there can be no reason why the commissioners, for altering any thing in that Civil Constitution, should consist only of men of one sort of them; unless it be supposed that humane reason is to be quitted in this affair, and the inspiration of spiritual men to be alone depended on.

" 3. Because tho' upon Romish principles the clergy may have the title to meddle alone in matters of religion

yet with us they cannot, where the Church is acknowledged and defin'd to consist of clergy and laity; and so those matters of religion which fall under humane determination, being properly the business of the Church, belong equally to both; for in what is of divine institution, neither clergy nor laity can make any alteration at all.

“ 4. Because the pretending, that differences and delays may arise, by mixing laymen with ecclesiasticks, to the frustrating the design of the Commission, is vain and out-of-doors; unless those that make use of this pretence suppose that the clergy part of the Church have distinct interests or designs from the lay part of the same Church; and will be a reason, if good, why one or other of them shou'd quit this House, for fear of obstructing the business of it.

“ 5. Because the Commission being intended for the satisfaction of Dissenters, it wou'd be convenient, that laymen of different ranks, nay, perhaps of different opinions too, shou'd be mix'd in it, the better to find expedients for that end; rather than clergymen alone of our Church, who are generally observ'd to have all very much the same way of reasoning and thinking.

“ 6. Because it is the most ready way to facilitate the passing the alterations into a law, that Lay-Lords and Commoners shou'd be join'd in the Commission, who may be able to satisfie both Houses of the reasons upon which they were made, and thereby remove all fears and jealousies ill men may raise up against the clergy, of their endeavouring to keep up, without grounds, a distinct interest from that of the laity, whom

they so carefully exclude from being join'd with them, in consultations of common concernment, that they will not have those have any part in the deliberation, who must have the greatest in determining.

“ 7. Because such a restrain'd Commission lies liable to this great objection, That it might be made use of to elude repeated promises, and the present general expectation of compliance with tender consciences, when the providing for it is taken out of the ordinary course of Parliament, to be put into the hands of those alone, who were latest in admitting any need of it, and who may be thought to be the more unfit to be the sole composers of our differences, when they are look'd upon, by some, as parties.

“ Lastly : Because, after all, this carries a dangerous supposition along with it, as if the laity were not a part of the Church, nor had any power to meddle in matters of religion : a supposition directly opposite to the constitution both of Church and State : which will make all alterations utterly impossible, unless the clergy alone be allow'd to have power to make laws in matters of religion ; since what is establish'd by law, cannot be taken away, but by consent of laymen in Parliament ; the clergy themselves having no authority to meddle in this very case, in which the laity are excluded by this vote, but what they derive from lay hands.

“ Subscrib'd,

“ WINCHESTER, MORDANT, LOVELL & C.

“ I dissent, for this and other reasons ; because it is contrary to three Statutes, made in the reign of King

Henry VIII., and one in King Edward VI., which empower thirty two Commissioners to alter the Canon and Ecclesiastical Law, &c. whereof sixteen to be of the laity, and sixteen of the clergy.

“ STAMFORD.”

Kennet proceeds thus :

“ On May 24th, the act of Toleration, or Liberty of Conscience, receiv'd the royal assent, intituled, ‘ An Act for exempting their Majesties’ Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws.’ The reason of it was thus given, in the preamble : ‘ Forasmuch as some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their Majesties’ Protestant subjects in interest and affection ; It was therefore enacted, That none of the Penal Laws shall be construed to extend to any person or persons dissenting from the Church of England, that shall take the oaths to the present Government, and subscribe the Declaration mention'd in stat. 30. Car. II. cap. 1. Provided, That no assembly of persons so dissenting should be had in any place for religious worship with the doors lock'd, barr'd or bolted, during the time of such meeting together ; and Provided, That nothing shou'd be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tythes, or other parochial duties : If any Dissenter shou'd be chosen or appointed to bear the office of constable, churchwarden, overseer, &c. and shou'd scruple the oaths required by law to be taken, in respect of such office, he shall or may execute such office or

employment by a sufficient deputy : That all preachers or teachers of any congregation of Dissenting Protestants, who shall take the oaths, and subscribe the Declaration aforesaid, and also subscribe the Articles of Religion, mention'd in stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 12. except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and these words in the 20th Article, viz. [‘ The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith ; and yet ] shall not be liable to any of the pains and penalties mention'd in stat. 17 Car. II. 2. 22 Car. II. 13. and 14 Car. II. cap. 4. Every such teacher shall be exempted from serving upon any jury, or from being chosen and appointed to bear the office of churchwarden, overseer of the poor, &c. ; but any Justice of Peace may require any person that goes to any meeting, for exercise of religion, to subscribe the Declaration, and to take the oaths ; and in case of refusal, is required to commit such person to prison, without bail or mainprize, &c.’ The like liberty was given to Anabaptists : and the Quakers were admitted to it, on condition of making this Declaration of Fidelity : ‘ I, A. B., do sincerely promise, and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to King William and Queen Mary : and I do solemnly profess and declare, that I do, from my heart, abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position [That Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.] And I do declare, that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath,



or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.' And subscribing a profession of their Christian belief, in these words : ' I, A. B., profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son the True God, and in the Holy Spirit, One God blessed for evermore ; and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be given by Divine inspiration.' ' Provided, That all the laws made for the frequenting divine service on the Lord's Day shall be still in force and executed against all persons that offend against the said laws, except such persons come to some congregation permitted by this act. Provided, That if any person shall maliciously or contemptuously come into any cathedral, or parish church, or other congregation, and disquiet or disturb the same, or misuse any preacher, or teacher, he shall, upon conviction, suffer the penalty of twenty pounds. And finally, Provided, That no congregation or assembly for religious worship shall be permitted or allow'd by this act, until the place of such meeting shall be certify'd to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the Justices of the Peace at the General or Quarter Sessions, and registred in the said bishop's or archdeacon's Court, or recorded at the said General or Quarter Sessions.'

" Tho' the body of Dissenters were contented with this liberty, yet the more moderate and wiser part of 'em would be glad to be taken into the National Establishment ; and there was indeed a Bill of Union still depending in Parliament, which pass'd the House of

Lords ; and when it came down to the House of Commons, they desir'd his Majesty to summon a Convocation, and lay the matter before them. Accordingly a Convocation was summon'd by the King's Writ, to meet on December 4. In the mean time, his Majesty thought fit to fill up the vacant sees : And therefore, on October 13, Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, late dean of St. Paul's, bishop elect of Worcester ; Dr. Simon Patrick, late dean of Peterborough, bishop elect of Chichester ; and Dr. Gilbert Ironside, late warden of Wadham College in Oxford, bishop elect of Bristol, were consecrated in the chappel of Fulham Palace by the bishops of London, St. Asaph, and Rochester, by virtue of a Commission granted to them in that behalf. And because the time allow'd by act of Parliament for the clergy to take the oaths was expired, those who refus'd to qualifie themselves were suspended *ab officio* ; particularly the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Gloucester, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough.

“ In order to prepare matters to be consider'd by the Convocation, his Majesty issued out this legal and reasonable Commission, to the most eminent bishops and divines.

“ ‘ Whereas, the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be us'd therein, are things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledg'd ; It is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to

those that are in place and authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

“ ‘ And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be review’d, and made more suitable to the state of the Church ; And whereas there are defects and abuses in the Ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions ; and particularly, there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners either in ministers or people : And whereas it is most fit, that there should be a strict method prescrib’d for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy Orders, both as to their learning and manners.

“ ‘ We therefore, out of our pious and princely care, for the good order and edification and unity of the Church of England, committed to our charge and care ; and for the reconciling, as much as is possible, of all differences among our good subjects, and to take away all occasions of the like for the future ; have thought fit to authorize and empower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the Liturgy and Canons, and such proposals for the reformation of Ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of such other matters, as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above-mention’d.’

The Names of the Commissioners, A. D. 1689.

Tho. Lamplugh, ld. archbishop of York.

Henry Compton, ld. bishop of London.

Peter Mew, ld. bishop of Winchester.

- William Lloyd, ld. bishop of St. Asaph.  
 Thomas Sprat, ld. bishop of Rochester.  
 Thomas Smith, ld. bishop of Carlisle.  
 Jonathan Trelawny, ld. bishop of Exeter. By Dr. D'Oyly  
 Gilbert Burnet, ld. bishop of Salisbury. [called 'John.'  
 Humphrey Humfreys, ld. bishop of Bangor.  
 Nicholas Stratford, ld. bishop of Chester.  
 Edward Stillingfleet, late dean of St. Paul's, London,  
     now bishop of Worcester.  
 Simon Patrick, late dean of Peterborough, now bishop  
     of Chichester.  
 John Tillotson, D.D. late dean of Canterbury, now dean  
     of St. Paul's, London.  
 Rich. Meggot, D.D. dean of Winchester.  
 John Sharp, D.D. late dean of Norwich, now dean of  
     Canterbury.  
 Rich. Kidder, D.D. dean of Peterborough.  
 Henry Aldridge, D.D. dean of Christ Church, Oxford.  
 William Jane, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity in the  
     University of Oxford.  
 John Hall, D.D. Margaret Professor of Divinity in the  
     University of Oxford.  
 Joseph Beaumont, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity in  
     the University of Cambridge.  
 John Mountague, D.D. and Master of Trinity College in  
     the University of Cambridge.  
 John Goodman, D.D. archdeacon of Middlesex.  
 Will. Beveridge, D.D. archdeacon of Colchester.  
 John Battely, D.D. archdeacon of Canterbury.  
 Charles Alston, D.D. archdeacon of Essex.  
 Tho. Tenison, D.D. archdeacon of London.

John Scot, D.D. prebendary of St Paul's, London.

Edward Fowler, D.D. prebendary of Gloucester.

Robert Grove, D.D. prebendary of St. Paul's, London.

John Williams, D.D. prebendary of St. Paul's, London.

“ These Commissioners often met, and drew up several alterations to make conformity the more easie and acceptable to all manner of conscientious persons : but some that were named in the Commission, did either not appear, or did soon desert their other brethren upon a high notion, That either no alterations ought to be made, or at least that this was not a seasonable time for the making of 'em; of which number were, Dr. Jane, Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, and some others. But the better and much greater majority apply'd themselves to the business of accommodation, with greater industry and prudence. That point which created the greatest difficulty, was about the admitting of dissenting ministers to officiate in the church, when duely reconciled to it. Some of the Commissioners were inclined not to insist on the re-ordination of 'em, alledging, that they ought not to shew less regard to the vocation of Presbyterian ministers, than to that of Roman-Catholick priests, whose ordination was never question'd upon their joining in communion with the Church of England. But the majority thought it more proper to keep a middle course, which was, first, with respect to Romish priests, to leave it undecided whether their ordination was good or no : but because they were not oblig'd to give credit to their certificates, that, therefore, such of 'em as for the future should

turn Protestants, should live in lay communion only, unless they were re-ordained to a legal title of any church or cure: and secondly, that tho' they did not determine the ordination of Presbyterians to be altogether invalid, yet they thought it necessary for their ministers to receive Orders from a bishop, who, in conferring the same, might add a clause to the common form, as the Church had already ordain'd in the case of uncertain Baptism, to this effect, 'If thou art not already ordain'd, I ordain thee, &c.' and this was the greatest concession that was made by the Commissioners. One of the chief Dissenters has given this opinion of their proceedings: 'These Commissioners often met and debated matters, but were deserted by Dr. Jane and several others. They drew up sundry alterations, a copy of which I have by me; but they having never thought fit to communicate them to the body of the Convocation, or to expose them to the view of the world from the press, I know not how proper it would be for me to print them. But this much I shall venture to say, that such amendments as those were, with such an allowance in the point of Orders for Ordination by Presbyters, as is made 13 Eliz. cap. 12. would in all probability have brought in two thirds of the Dissenters in England, which being done, and at the same time a liberty continued to such as could not be comprehended, would have been greater service than can easily be imagined.'

"One of the Commissioners has more lately given this better account of it: 'In the reign of King James, those of the Church who saw the Papists drawing in

the Dissenters to concur with them in their designs against the Church, applied to the then Prince of Orange, desiring him to make use of his interest in them for diverting them from that : and in those letters, which are yet extant, assurances were given, that the Church was then in such a temper, so well convinced of former errors, that if ever she got out of that distress, all those differences would be certainly made up. And to make this assurance more publick, the archbishop and bishops in that Petition, for which they were imprisoned and tried, declared, That they were ready to come to a temper in those matters, both in Parliament and Convocation. Upon this it was, that the Prince of Orange promised, in his Declaration, to use his endeavours to heal all those divisions. In order to the performing this, he, by a special Commission, appointed all those bishops who owned his authority, he being then set on the throne, together with a great many of the clergy, to draw out the grounds upon which the Dissenters had separated from us, and to offer expedients in order to the healing our breaches. We had before us all the books and papers that they had at any time offered, setting forth their demands ; together with many advices and propositions which had been made at several times, by most of the best and most learned of our divines ; of which the late most learned bishop of Worcester had a great collection : so we prepared a scheme to be laid before the Convocation ; but did not think that we, ourselves, much less that any other person, was any way limited, or bound to comply with what we resolved to propose. On the contrary, we

said, if we saw better reason, we would change our minds: yet this, which was only a Council created by the King to prepare matters, was complained of, as an imposing on the Convocation, and as a limiting of it; and tho' a royal license was sent them, yet a previous resolution was taken, to admit of no alterations. When we saw that, we resolved to be quiet, and leave that matter to better times: but then the enemies of the Civil Government began to work on the jealousies and fears of many well-minded men; and the "Preserving the Church," was given out as the word, by those who meant France or St. Germans by it; and under this fatal delusion many are apt to be misled to this day.'

"The Convocation met on Thursday, Nov. 21, and began in an unhappy difference about the choice of a Prolocutor. The person design'd by the bishop of London and most of his brethren, and the sober part of the clergy, was Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury, whom the King had lately made Clerk of his Closet, and used to call him 'the honestest man, and the best friend that ever he had in his life;' but it was carried by a majority of votes for Dr. Jane of Oxford, who being presented on the 25th to the bishop of London as President, for his approbation, made a customary speech in Latin, wherein he extoll'd the excellency of the Church of England as established by law, above all Christian communities, and imply'd that it wanted no amendments; and then ended with the application of this sentence by way of triumph, 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.' The bishop of London, to whom the Prolocutor had been chaplain, made a speech in the



same language with more charity and candor: he told the clergy, ‘they ought to endeavour a temper in those things that are not essential in religion, thereby to open the door of Salvation to a multitude of straying Christians: that it must needs be their duty, to shew the same indulgence and charity to the Dissenters under King William, which some of the bishops and clergy had promised to them in their Addresses to King James,’ and concluded with a pathetic exhortation to unanimity and concord.

“ At the next meeting, the bishop of London, being sensible that the majority of the Lower House were resolv’d to oppose the intended union with the Dissenters, acquainted the Convocation, ‘That having communicated the Royal Commission by which they were impowered to act, to an eminent civilian, he had found it defective in not having the Great Seal, and therefore he should prorogue ‘em till that was procured.’ During this interval many arguments were used to bring the most stiff of the inferiour clergy to a charitable condescension, and the much-desir’d union, but to very little purpose; there was a jealousy and a distrust not to be conquer’d: tho’ there could be but two arguments of any force to justify their averseness to enter upon the terms of accommodation. One was, ‘That it seem’d to derogate from the dignity of the Church of England to make any step toward the altering of her constitution, till it did appear that the Dissenters themselves did desire a reconciliation, and were ready to offer some proposals, or to accept of others.’ A second argument might be, ‘That the archbishop of Canterbury and

some of his suffragans, and some other divines, would not own the present Government, and were therefore ready to fall into a new separation from their brethren; so that at this juncture it might be dangerous to make any change that might give a pretence of being for the old Church, as well as for the old King.'

" On Dec. 4, while both Houses were together in Henry VIIth's Chappel, the earl of Nottingham brought in the King's Commission, and a message from his Majesty in writing, both which were read, there being present twelve bishops, and a good number of the inferior clergy. The Commission was as follows :

" ' William and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queen of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting; Whereas, in and by one act of Parliament, made at Westminster in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the VIII. reciting, That whereas the King's humble and obedient subjects, the clergy of this realm of England, had not only acknowledged according to the truth, that the Convocation of the same clergy were always, had been, and ought to be assembled only by the King's writ; but also submitting themselves to the King's Majesty, had promised in verbo sacerdotis, That they would never from thenceforth presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in use, or enact, promulge, or execute any new Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, Provincial, or others, or by whatsoever other name they should be called in the Convocation, unless the said King's most royal assent and license might to them be had, to make,

promulge and execute the same; and that the said King did give his royal assent and authority in that behalf.

“ ‘ It was therefore enacted by the authority of the said Parliament, according to the said submission and petition of the said clergy, among other things, That they, nor any of them, from thenceforth should enact, promulge or execute any such Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, by whatsoever name they might be called in their Convocations in time coming, which always should be assembled by authority of the King’s writ, unless the same clergy might have the King’s most royal assent and license, to make, promulge and execute such Canons, Constitutions, and Ordinances, Provincial or Synodal, upon pain of every one of the said clergy doing contrary to the said act, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment, and make fines at the King’s will.

“ ‘ And further, by the said act it is provided, That no Canons, Constitutions or Ordinances should be made, or put in execution within this realm, by authority of the Convocations of the clergy, which should be contrariant or repugnant to the King’s prerogative royal, or the customs, laws or statutes of this realm, any thing contained in the said act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

“ ‘ And lastly, It is also provided by the said act, That such Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances and Synodals Provincial, which then were already made, and which then were not contrariant or repugnant to the laws, statutes and customs of this realm, nor to the

damage or hurt of the King's prerogative royal, should then still be used and executed as they were before the making of the said act, until such time as they should be viewed, searched, or otherwise order'd and determin'd by the persons mention'd in the said act, or the most part of them, according to the tenor, form and effect of the said act; as by the said act, among divers other things, more fully and at large, it doth and may appear.

“ ‘ And whereas the particular forms of divine worship, and rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things of their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority should, from time to time, seem either necessary or expedient.

“ ‘ And whereas the book of Canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the Church: and whereas there are divers defects and abuses in the Ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions; and particularly there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reformation of manners, either in ministers or people: and whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict method prescribed, for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy Orders, both as to their learning and manners: know ye, That we, for divers urgent and weighty causes and considerations, us thereunto moving, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have, by virtue of our prerogative

royal, and supreme authority in causes Ecclesiastical, given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, full, free and lawful liberty, license, power and authority unto the right rev. father in God, Henry, lord bishop of London, President of this present Convocation for the province of Canterbury, (upon the suspension of the lord archbishop of Canterbury,) during this present Parliament now assembled; and in his absence, to such other bishop as shall be appointed President thereof, and to the rest of the bishops of the same province, and all deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, chapters and colleges, and the whole clergy of every several diocese, within the said province: that they, the said lord bishop of London, or other President of the said convocation, and the rest of the clergy of this present Convocation within the said province of Canterbury, or the greatest number of them, whereof the President of the said Convocation to be always one, shall and may from time to time, during this present Parliament, confer, treat, debate, consider, consult, and agree of and upon such points, matters, causes and things, as we from time to time shall propose or cause to be proposed by the said lord bishop of London, or other President of the said Convocation, concerning alterations and amendments of the Liturgy and Canons, and Orders, Ordinances and Constitutions for the reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts, for the removing of scandalous ministers, for the reformation of manners either in ministers or people, and for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy Orders; and all such other points, causes and matters as we shall think necessary and expedient, for advancing the honour

and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof.

“ ‘ And we do also, by these presents, give and grant unto the said lord bishop of London, or other President of the said Convocation, and to the rest of the bishops of the said province of Canterbury, and unto all deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, chapters and colleges, and the whole clergy of every several diocese within the said province, full, free and lawful liberty, license, power and authority, that they the said lord bishop of London, or other President of the said Convocation, and the rest of the said bishops, and other the clergy of the same province, or the greatest number of them that shall be present in person, or by their proxies, shall and may, from time to time, draw into Forms, Rules, Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions and Canons, such matters as to them shall be thought necessary and expedient for the purposes above-mention’d ; and the same set down in writing, from time to time, to exhibit and deliver, or cause to be exhibited and delivered unto us ; to the end that we, as occasion shall require, may thereupon have the advice of our Parliament : and that such, and so many of the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, matters, causes and things, as shall be thought requisite and convenient by our said Parliament, may be presented to us in due form, for our royal assent, if, upon mature consideration thereof, we shall think fit to enact the same. In witness whereof, we have caus’d these our Letters to be made patent.

“ ‘ Witness ourselves at Westminster the thirtieth day of November, in the first year of our reign.’ ”

Dr. Nichols published an English translation of his defence of the Church of England: the edition in 12mo. 1715, does not differ from that in 8vo. 1730, in this passage here reprinted.

After the Parliament had secured the Public liberties, they turned their thoughts to obtain a toleration for the Non-conformists, and passed an act to suspend the force of the penal laws as against them. They were "going on further in these affairs, although perhaps in a province which did not so directly belong to them, and had brought in a Bill of Comprehension, as it was called: that is, for the receiving the Dissenters into the bosom of the Church." But Dr. Tillotson declared his opinion against it, and accordingly the Commissioners met in the Jerusalem Chamber.

Nichols, 110. "The reverend persons do now forthwith apply themselves to the business which was laid before them, and begin their work with a review of the Common Prayer Book. And first of all the Calendar comes under examination: from whence the Apocryphal Lessons are expunged, and chapters out of the canonical books are substituted to be read in their room. The creed, which is called Athanasius's, because it is found fault with by some persons by reason of the damnatory sentences, is permitted to be changed for the Apostles' Creed, at the discretion of the minister. The Collects throughout the whole course of the year are revised, most of them being made anew and rendered more suitable to the Epistles and Gospels of the day: and this with so much elegance and purity of style, with so much pious force and ardor, as nothing could tend

more to excite devotion in the minds of the hearers and to raise up their souls to God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Simon Patrick, who had an excellent talent this way. Dr. Gilbert Burnet added a further life and force and spirit to them. After this they underwent the exquisite judgement of Dr. Stillingfleet: the last and finishing stroke being given to them by Dr. Tillotson, who polished over whatever was left rough in the compositions with his smooth language and flowingness of his easy eloquence. They likewise agreed upon a new translation of the Psalms to be read in the daily service of the Church, more agreeable to the original than the present is: which province was assigned to Dr. Kidder, a person excellently well versed in the Oriental tongues. Some few expressions and words, which lying scattered about the Liturgy are found fault with by its adversaries, were collected by Dr. Tenison: such clear expressions being substituted in their stead as were not liable to be excepted against by the most captious. There were some few other things proposed, but which were entirely to be referred to the Synod. First of all, that the cross in Baptism should be in the election of the parents, either to have it signed in the children's foreheads, or omitted. Secondly, if any Non-conformist minister should return to the Church, he was not, as the custom is now, to undergo a new ordination: but to be admitted into the Church by a conditional Ordination, like as we are wont to do in the baptism of those persons of whom it is uncertain whether they are baptized or no: the bishop's hands being imposed upon them, as was the custom among the ancients, in receiving



those clergy into the Church who had been ordained by hereticks : which was the method used by archbishop Bramhall, primate of Ireland, when he gave visitation to any who had received Presbyterian Orders in the then late confusion." Nichols cites Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 2. Con. Nic. i. Can. 8. Just. sive Author Resp. ad Orthodox. Resp. 18. Theod. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 8, and Archbishop Bramhall's Life, before his Works.

There immediately follows in both translations the paragraph cited hereafter, p. 150. But in the Latin edition of 1708, London, 12mo. is the following paragraph intervening :

" *Hæc eorum summa erat, quæ in hoc congressu viri doctissimi moliebantur: quæ si omnia, ex eorum sententiâ, obtigissent, quid exinde incommodi Ecclesiæ importaretur, mihi sanè istam rem sæpiùs reputanti, nondum compertum est. Sed quoniam aliis viris sapientissimis et multo rerum usu exercitatis sententia longè diversa fuerat, inter tantos viros litem soli à partium studio semoti, vel posteri, vel exteri, optimè possunt dirimere.*" p. 97.

Calamy, in his *Life of Baxter*, publishes the account from Burnet's Triennial Visitation Charge, and from the Bishop of Lincoln's Speech, March 17, 1709-10, and a translation of Nichols's account, from the Latin of 1708, as far as Bramhall's precedent; but has not published the paragraph above cited from the Latin edition. Then Calamy proceeds as follows : p. 452.

" To all which I shall add an account which I receiv'd from a friend whom it is not necessary to name, which in the main I have reason to think is right,

though in some respects defective: and so I believe will all our accounts be, till the original papers come to be publish'd to the world, as I believe and hope they will be in time.

“ An Account of the Proceedings of the Commissioners, to prepare Matters for the approaching Convocation, in 1689.

“ The Committee being met in the Jerusalem Chamber, a dispute arose about the authority and legality of the Court; the bishop of Rochester, though he had so lately acted in an illegal one, being one of those that question'd it. The grounds of this scruple, were the obligations the clergy lay under by act of Parliament of King Henry the VIII, not to enter into any debates, about making any alterations in Church affairs without the King's special and immediate privacy, and direction first given concerning such alterations. It was answer'd, That, that must be done either by an act of the King's own judgment, or by a private cabal, (both which ways would be very exceptionable,) or else by his Majesty's commission, to a certain number of Ecclesiasticks to consult about, and prepare what was necessary to be alter'd, as it was in the present case. For moreover, the Commissioners pretended not to make these alterations obligatory by virtue of a law, but only to get them ready to lay before the Convocation: the very reports being not so much as to be referr'd to the Privy Council, least they might be subject to be canvass'd and cook'd by lay hands. However, the bishops of Winchester and Rochester, Dr. Jane and Dr. Aldridge withdrew dissatisfied; and the rest, after a list of all

that seem'd fit to be changed, was read over, proceeded very unanimously, and without any heats, in determining, as follows, (each article, as soon as agreed on, being sign'd by the bishop of London,) viz.

“ That the chaunting of divine service in cathedral churches shall be laid aside, that the whole may be rendred intelligible to the common people.

“ That besides the Psalms, being read in their course as before, some proper and devout ones be selected for Sundays.

“ That the Apocryphal Lessons, and those of the Old Testament which are too natural, be thrown out; and others appointed in their stead by a new Calendar, which is already fully settled, and out of which are omitted all the Legendary Saints Days, and others not directly referr'd to in the Service book.

“ That not to send the vulgar to search the Canons, which few of them ever saw: a Rubrick be made, setting forth the usefulness of the cross in Baptism, not as an essential part of that sacrament, but only a fit and decent ceremony: however, if any do, after all, in conscience scruple it, it may be omitted by the priest.

“ That likewise if any refuse to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper kneeling, it may be administered to them in their pews.

“ That a Rubrick be made, declaring the intention of the Lent Fasts, to consist only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinction of meats. And another to state the meaning of Rogation Sundays and Ember Weeks; and appoint that those ordained within the quatuor tempora, do exercise strict devotion.

“ That the Rubrick which obliges ministers to read or hear Common Prayer, publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent those prayers.

“ That the Absolution in Morning and Evening Prayer may be read by a Deacon; the word ‘Priest’ in the Rubrick being changed into ‘Minister,’ and those words ‘and remission’ be put out as not very intelligible.

“ That the Gloria Patri shall not be repeated at the end of every psalm, but of all, appointed for Morning and Evening Prayer.

“ That those words in the Te Deum, ‘Thine honourable true and only Son,’ be thus turn’d, ‘Thine only begotten Son;’ ‘honourable’ being only a Civil term, and no where used in Sacris.

“ The Benedicite shall be changed into the 128 Psalm; and other Psalms likewise appointed for the Benedictus and Nunc dimittis.

“ The Versicle, after the Lord’s Prayer, &c. shall be read kneeling, to avoid the trouble and inconveniences of so often varying postures in the worship. And after these words, ‘Give peace in our time, O Lord,’ shall follow an answer, promissory of somewhat on the people’s part, of keeping God’s laws, or the like : the old response being grounded on the Predestinating doctrine, taken in too strict an acceptance.

“ All high titles or appellations of the King, Queen, &c. shall be left out of the Prayers, such as ‘most illustrious, religious, mighty,’ &c. ; and only the word ‘Sovereign’ retain’d for the King and Queen.

“ Those words in the Prayer for the King, ‘Grant

that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies,' as of too large an extent, if the King engage in an unjust war; shall be turn'd thus: 'Prosper all his righteous undertakings against thy enemies,' or after some such manner.

"Those words in the Prayer for the Clergy, 'Who alone workest great marvels;' as subject to be ill interpreted by persons vainly disposed, shall be thus, 'Who alone art the Author of all good gifts:' and those words, 'The healthful Spirit of thy grace,' shall be 'The holy Spirit of thy grace;' 'healthful' being an obsolete word.

"The Prayer which begins, 'O God, whose nature and property,' shall be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in since by another hand.

"The Collects for the most part are to be changed, for those the bishop of Chichester has prepared; being a review of the old ones with enlargements, to render them more sensible and affecting; and what expressions are needful, so to be retrenched.

"If any minister refuse the surplice, the bishop, if the people desire it, and the living will bear it, may substitute one in his place that will officiate in it; but the whole thing is left to the discretion of the bishops.

"If any desire to have godfathers and godmothers omitted, and their children presented in their own names to baptism, it may be granted.

"About the Athanasian Creed, they came at last to this conclusion. That least the wholly rejecting it should by unreasonable persons be imputed to them as Socinianism, a rubrick shall be made, setting forth, or

declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrain'd to every particular article, but intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general.

“ Whether the amendment of the Translation of the Reading Psalms (as they are call'd) made by the bishop of St. Asaph and Dr. Kidder, or that in the Bible, shall be inserted in the Prayer Book, is wholly left to the Convocation to consider of and determine.

“ In the Litany, Communion Service, &c. are some alterations made, as also in the Canons, which I cannot yet learn so particular account of as to give them you with the rest, as perhaps I may hereafter be able to do. Thus far my friend's narrative.

“ On November the 16th, the reverend bishop of Sarum gave an excellent exhortation to peace and union, in a sermon preach'd at St. Lawrence Jury, on Acts vii. 26. 'Tis pity it should be forgotten. Says he there, page 14. ‘ We here in England have had a long fierce contest about things, which we all confess are indifferent in their own nature. This animosity works still so high among us, that many take fire upon the smallest steps that can be made towards the healing so great a breach; and fill all places with tragical outcries, as if the Church of England were to be pull'd down: while the chief promoters of these reports, know well how false they are, and that instead of offering at any thing that can in any sort weaken our Church, every thing which has been endeavour'd must prove its strength as well as its glory, if we are so happy as to weigh all in even ballances. The things that are propos'd are of

themselves desireable, though there should not be one Dissenter gain'd by them; and are such as will tend to the making all the parts of our offices both more unexceptionable, and more edifying. But distempers are far gone, when the patient rages at the first mention of a medicine. We have lost many happy opportunities, since the first beginning of the Reformation among us, for the healing our breaches : one is sorry to remember them, and wishes that such fatal errors could be covered from the knowledge of all succeeding ages for the sake of the Church, and of those who have govern'd it. But if we do again repeat former errors, and let the present advantages that we have now in our hands slip from us, what is to be said upon it, but that this is of the Lord, who by it is punishing us for our other sins, for our remissness in our duties; for our neglect of the pastoral care; for our slackning that strictness of life which becomes our profession; for our indulging ourselves too much in sensuality and laziness; and for all those other sins, by which we have departed from his law, and have corrupted the covenant of Levi, and made many to stumble at the law; and that therefore God will make us become base and contemptible before the people; and that all our flocks shall be scatter'd. But we might hope for better things, if every one would put away all prejudices, all wrath, anger, and revenge; and would put on bowels of mercies and kindness, remembring that we are brethren, so that having purify'd ourselves from humour, passion, interest, and every thing else that may corrupt our minds, unto the unfeigned love of the brethren, we would resolve to love

one another with a pure heart fervently. And if instead of the pride of not yielding to one another in any thing, we should rather engage into a holy emulation of trying who could yield most for the healing of those wounds, that have been so often open'd, and that begin now again to bleed afresh.' He adds, page 27, 'God be thanked for it, that there is an end put to all persecution in matters of conscience; and that the first and chief right of humane nature, of following the dictates of conscience in the service of God, is secured to all men amongst us; and that we are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the remnants of the worst part of popery that we had too long retained, I mean the spirit of persecution. If this gives uneasiness to any, it shews that their eye is evil, because the eye of our Legislators has been good towards those, who tho' they may be mistaken in their notions, yet have still the rights of men, and of Christians. But after all this, it is to be remembred, that men may be still persecutors, tho' they are not able to persecute any longer, according to our Saviour's charging the guilt of intended sins, on those who never acted them: for as long as we entertain hatred and malice in our hearts, and wish that it were in our power to do hurt to others, so long we become guilty before God, and so do wrong to ourselves, tho' we are not in condition to do them any; but if we do them all the wrong we can, we shew what our tempers are, and that we would do more if it were in our power. If we love to keep up old differences, or to create new ones, if we will continue to make the terms of communion with us as strait as possibly we



can, and shut out all persons, as much as in us lies, from joining labours with us, because they do not in all things think as we do: if we will by turns imploy all the interest we have in any turn of Government that is kind to us, to do wrong to others, either by loading them with false accusations, by aggravating some lesser matters, or by an undue prosecution of real but repented-of faults; all these are the several instances, in which an injurious temper shews itself; and while such things are among us, we are under the guilt that is charg'd on these Israelites in my text, who tho' they were brethren, yet did wrong one to another.'

"All the discourse now was about this famous Ecclesiastical Commission, which was so different from that of the foregoing reign. Some were earnest for it, and others as warm against it." p. 457.

Calamy gives much of what was said on both sides: for instance, on p. 460:

"'Twas objected, That altering any thing in a well-constituted Church, was like plucking a beam out of a well-built house, which cannot be done without endangering the fabrick. 'Twas answer'd, If all had been of this mind, we could never have reform'd from popery, because this argument would have been as strong against all alterations then as now.

"'Twas objected, If alterations were begun, there was no knowing where to stop. 'Twas answer'd, When any thing was propos'd not fit to be done.

"'Twas objected, They that want alterations will still be craving more. 'Twas answer'd, That denying them

what was just and fitting to be granted, was giving them a great advantage.

“ ’Twas objected, Changing was reproachful. ’Twas answer’d, It was much more reproachful, obstinately to resist a change when there’s good reason for it.

“ ’Twas objected, There was no reason to endeavour to gratifie the Dissenters, who were guilty of great obstinacy and perverseness. ’Twas answered, It therefore became them to act like physicians, who don’t presently cast off a peevish patient, but study to suit his palate and humour.”

Unhappily the Commission and Convocation both alike ended in nothing being done : and it would therefore appear, that the act of Uniformity was preferred to that union which might have been effected by some alterations of the Prayer Book. Calamy prints Baxter’s sense of the subscribed Articles of Religion, p. 469 ; and also the heads of agreement assented to by the United Ministers in 1690, p. 476.

Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, has given the same account in substance which has now been reprinted. He says, that Bp. Burnet argued warmly against the clause for introducing laymen into the Commission, “ imagining that the clergy would have come into the design of the bill with zeal and unanimity, and being apprehensive, that the propos’d amendment of the clause would be look’d on by them, as taking the matter out of their hands. But he was soon after convinc’d, that he had taken wrong measures, and that the method, propos’d by the Lords on the other side, was

the only one like to be effectual. Nor did his opposition to it so recommend him to the clergy, as to balance the censure, which he fell under, for moving, in another proviso in that bill, that the subscription, instead of 'assent' and 'consent,' should be only to 'submit' with a promise of conformity; and for his zeal for the other clause above-mention'd, of dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament." p. 176.

In respect to the bill "for uniting their Majesties' Protestant subjects," Birch goes on to say: "While this bill and that of Toleration were depending, Mr. Locke, whose principles are well known to have been favourable to both, wrote a letter, dated March 12, 1688-9, to his friend Philip à Limborch, an eminent writer and professor of divinity among the Arminians in Amsterdam, in which he declares it as his opinion, that the Episcopal clergy were no great friends to those bills, and other matters then in agitation in England; 'whether,' says he, 'to their own or the nation's advantage, let them consider.'

"The bill of Union, as well as that of Toleration, had been moved for by some of the bishops, who afterwards scrupled the oaths; and they both were drawn and offer'd by the earl of Nottingham, who had been appointed one of the principal secretaries of State, on the day of their Majesties' proclamation; and they were the same, which had been prepar'd for the House of Commons in King Charles II.'s reign during the debates of the Exclusion; but then consider'd rather as artifices to allay the heat of that time, and to render the Church party more popular. And even now those, who had

moved for the bill of Union, and afterwards brought it into the House, acted a very disingenuous part; for while they studied to recommend themselves by this shew of moderation, they set on their friends to oppose it; and such, as were sincerely and cordially for it, were represented as the enemies of the Church, who intended to subvert it. When the bill had passed the Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, it was suffer'd to lie upon the table; and instead of proceeding in it, they resolved upon an address to the King, in which they were joined by the Lords, and which was presented to his Majesty on the 20th of April, desiring him to continue his care for the preservation of the Church of England established by law; and to issue forth writs, according to the ancient usage and practice of the kingdom in time of Parliament, for calling a Convocation of the clergy, to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters; assuring him, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration of giving ease to Protestant Dissenters. The King returned no answer till the next day, when he declared, that the Church of England should always be his peculiar care; and he hop'd, that the ease, which they design'd to Dissenters, would contribute very much to the establishment of the Church; and therefore earnestly recommended to them, that the occasions of differences and mutual animosities might be removed; and that as soon as conveniently might be, he would summon a Convocation." p. 177.

On page 179, Birch says (in agreement with Nichols, p. 109) it was Tillotson who dissuaded William from

having recourse to Parliamentary authority, and said, that lest the Church affairs then in debate, and “ consisting of such a multitude of particulars, might proceed too slowly in so numerous a body as the Convocation, it would be best, as had been formerly done, for his Majesty to authorize, by his Letters Patent, several of the most eminent of the clergy to consider of some methods of healing the wounds of the Church, and establishing a durable peace: that so what they should agree upon being laid before a Convocation, might first have their sanction, and then that of Parliamentary authority;” which was done accordingly. There had been in the year 1641 a Commission of Review appointed by the House of Lords, consisting of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons; Ken. III. 104.: and the bp. of Lincoln summoned, as assessors to this Commission, seven divines highly esteemed in the Church. They all subscribed a paper called the Proceedings &c. “ touching innovations in doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, together with considerations upon the Common Prayer Book.” Birch then says: “ About the time of passing this Commission, in Sept. 1689, Dean Tillotson drew up the following paper, of which there is a copy enter’d in short-hand in his common-place-book, intituled, ‘ Concessions, which will probably be made by the Church of England for the union of Protestants; which I sent to the earl of Portland by Dr. Stillingfleet, Sept. 13, 1689.

“ ‘ 1. That the ceremonies injoin’d or recommended in the Liturgy, or Canons, be left indifferent.

“ ‘ 2. That the Liturgy be carefully reviewed, and such alterations and changes therein made, as may

supply the defects, and remove, as much as is possible, all ground of exception to any part of it, by leaving out the Apocryphal Lessons, and correcting the translation of the Psalms, used in the public Service, where there is need of it ; and in many other particulars.

“ ‘ 3. That instead of all former declarations and subscriptions to be made by ministers, it shall be sufficient for them, that are admitted to the exercise of their ministry in the Church of England, to subscribe one general declaration and promise to this purpose, viz. that we do submit to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England, as it shall be established by law, and promise to teach and practise accordingly.

“ ‘ 4. That a new body of Ecclesiastical Canons be made, particularly with a regard to a more effectual provision for the reformation of manners both in ministers and people.

“ ‘ 5. That there be an effectual regulation of Ecclesiastical courts, to remedy the great abuses and inconveniencies, which by degrees, and length of time, have crept into them; and particularly, that the power of excommunication be taken out of the hands of lay-officers, and placed in the bishop, and not to be exercised for trivial matters, but upon great and weighty occasions.

“ ‘ 6. That for the future those, who have been ordained in any of the foreign Reformed Churches, be not required to be re-ordained here, to render them capable of preferment in this Church.

“ ‘ That for the future none be capable of any Ecclesiastical benefice or preferment in the Church of Eng-

land, that shall be ordained in England, otherwise than by bishops. And that those, who have been ordained only by Presbyters, shall not be compelled to renounce their former ordination. But because many have, and do still doubt of the validity of such ordination, where episcopal ordination may be had, and is by law required, it shall be sufficient for such persons to receive ordination from a bishop in this or the like form: “If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee,” &c. as in case a doubt be made of any one’s baptism, it is appointed by the Liturgy, that he be baptised in this form: “If thou art not baptised, I baptise thee,” &c.’

“This last proposal of the Dean with respect to an hypothetical ordination of those, who were before ordain’d in England by Presbyters, agreed with the sentiments of one of the most learned and judicious prelates of the beginning of that century, Dr. John Overall, bishop of Norwich, with regard to the ordination of the ministers of the Foreign Reformed Church.”

Afterwards, p. 191, Birch says, that Nichols’s account was given him by Dr. Williams, at a later period bishop of Chichester, and that the “original of the alterations, suggested by these Commissioners upon their review of the Liturgy, was in the hands of Abp. Tenison, who was always cautious of trusting them out of his own keeping; alleging, that if they came to be public, they would give no satisfaction to either side, but be rather a handle for mutual reproaches, as one side would upbraid their brethren for having given up so much; while the other would justify their non-conformity, because those concessions were too little, or however

not yet pass'd into a law." Birch then gives Calamy's account of the proceedings in the Jerusalem Chamber, and proceeds thus, p. 196 :

"Such were the proceedings of the Commissioners, which had been protested against by their brethren, who had left them immediately after their first meeting, with a declaration, that they were against all alterations whatsoever. They thought, that too much had been already done for the Dissenters, in the toleration, which was granted them; and would do nothing to make them still easier. They said farther, that the altering of the customs and constitutions of our Church, to gratify a peevish and obstinate party, was like to have no other effect on them, but to make them more insolent; as if the Church, by offering these alterations, seemed to confess, that she had been hitherto in the wrong. They were of opinion, that this attempt would divide the Church, and make the people lose their esteem for the Liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. They excepted also to the manner of preparing matters, by a special Commission, as limiting the Convocation, and imposing upon it; and to load this with a word of an ill sound, they called this a new Ecclesiastical Commission. But, in answer to all this it was said, that if, by a few corrections and explanations, all just satisfaction were offer'd to the chief objections of the Dissenters, there was reason to hope, that this would bring over many of them, at least of the people, if not of the teachers among them: or, if the prejudices of education wrought too strongly upon the present age, yet if some more sensible objections were put out of the way, it



might well be hop'd, that it would have a great effect on the next generation. If these condescensions were made so, as to own, in the way of offering them, that the Non-conformists had been in the right, that might turn to the reproach of the Church: but such offers being made only in regard to their weakness, the reproach fell on them; as the honour accrued to the Church, who shewed herself a true mother by her care to preserve her children. That it was not offer'd, that the ordinary posture of receiving the sacrament kneeling should be changed; this being still to be the received and favoured posture, but that only such, as declared, that they could not overcome their scruples in that matter, were to be admitted to it in another posture. Ritual matters were of their own nature indifferent, and had been always declared to be so; and all the necessity of them arose only from the authority in Church and State, which had enacted them. It would therefore be an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatement or yielding, in such matters, in order to the healing of the Church's wounds. Great alterations had been made in such things in all ages of the Church. Even the Church of Rome was still making some alterations in her rituals. And changes had been made among ourselves often since the Reformation, in the reigns of King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles II. These were always made upon some great turn, critical times being the most proper for designs of that kind. The toleration, now granted, seemed to render it more necessary than formerly to make the terms of communion with the Church as large

as might be, in order to draw over to it the greater number from those, who might now leave it more safely ; and therefore the more care was to be used for the gaining them. And with regard to the manner of preparing these overtures, the King's supremacy signified little, if he could not appoint a select number to consider of such matters, as he might think fit to lay before the Convocation. This no way broke in upon their full freedom of debate, it being free to them to reject, as well as to accept, of the propositions, that should be offer'd to them."

When the Convocation did assemble, Nichols says it " assembled all the clergy either avowedly or in their minds highly approving or condemning what had been done by the Commissioners with relation to the alterations," in one word, being partizans : and the party that preferred Jane to Tillotson, as Prolocutor, were successful. p. 112.

" After that, the King ordered the Convocation to attend him, and declared his mind to them to this purpose : ' He gives them earnest assurances of his favour, and tells them how much it was his desire that all his subjects should live peaceably and lovingly one with another, and unite in one manner of worship: that to this end he had appointed Commissioners to prepare and lay before the Convocation such things as they thought fit should be altered : that he heartily wished a good agreement among them, and that the points in dispute might be handled with that mild and charitable temper which become ministers of the Gospel.'

" But many of the Convocation men had entertained

an opinion which was never to be eradicated out of their minds, that by this device of alterations a design was laid to undermine the Church." p. 113. Nichols gives other feelings of theirs, and the opposite notions of the other party.

The speech of Dr. Jane at the opening of the Convocation will not bear much comment: although the implication be inevitable, it is only right to observe, that his partisans and himself might suspect that some part of what was then understood to be expressed by the term "Priesthood," was of man's making, and some part of what was then considered the edifice of the Church was of man's building. It was not therefore unnatural, if the pride of the artificers were somewhat hurt, that they should oppose all changes, and misconstrue them; as people now misconstrue the spirit of the Barons' reply in the Statute at Merton. It is not difficult to account for an exceeding anxiety to preserve the works of our own hands. But whatever work will not stand the test of the Gospel, and is on that account suspected, ought not to be fenced about with artificial objections to its being brought to that test, ought not to be intrenched amid ceremonies which bring to one level all within the enclosure among themselves, and all without the enclosure among themselves; but ought to be brought to the test with a zeal, which those who disapprove it will term pitiless, uncompromising, and fierce; and to abide the issue. The foundation being confessedly laid aright, the superstructure ought to be examined with a jealous eye: and the examination will be stricter and the more jealous, the more friendly that eye may be; for

greater affection is alive to smaller deformities. Whatever changes seem advisable, should be made with a lowly and willing heart, and without loss of time. If any man build upon the Rock of Ages, the true foundation, "gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire: and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work abide which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved; yet so as by fire." 1 Cor. iii.

Jewell, in his *Apology*, puts a question, which in cases like the present is always pertinent. "*Est Dei causa: cur eam dubitant permittere verbo Dei?*" p. 16. Where there is any suspicion of untruth, another observation of Jewell's, in another place, p. 2, will supply a probable answer. "*Videt scilicet Diabolus veritate incolumi, se incolumem esse et sua tueri non posse.*"

Birch says this Convocation was prorogued several times, and ultimately dissolved with the Parliament, p. 208: and gives an account of some of the pamphlets printed for and against the intended Comprehension, p. 209.

"A conforming and beneficed Clergyman" published four pleas for Non-conformity; the first in 1681, and the fourth in 1683. The first plea, p. 15, cites Baxter's *Plea for Peace*, p. 138; and Bp. Reynolds's *Sermon*, Nov. 7, 1688: and then the following words of Bramhall, archbishop of Armagh: "We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England

at his pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and his Apostles, but in a mean as pious opinions, fitted for the preservation of unity : neither do we believe any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them." From p. 22 to 28 is matter of some importance to the present enquiry ; but it is not necessary to reprint those pages. There follow some observations on the persons that managed what should have been the Conference at the Savoy, and the manner in which certain individuals were made and other individuals prevented from being made members of the Convocation at that time "by very undue proceedings" which secured the result they were intended to secure. The greatest argument is said to have been about the age at which children should be confirmed. On p. 50 is given Sir Matthew Hale's opinion to Baxter, "that the act of Uniformity will never unite and heal us."

The second plea (pp. 10, 11, and 12, cited in the 3d plea, p. 13) states that the difference between the Non-conformists, commonly but unduly called Presbyterians and the Conformists, is to be seen and gathered from the King's own Declaration, Oct. 25, 1660, about Ecclesiastical affairs; to which the Non-conformists would have submitted, had it been reduced into an act of Parliament instead of the act of Uniformity.

Carr's "Serious Exhortation," and Tenison's "Argument for Union," appear to have been published in 1683. The "Healing Attempt," published in 1689, dwells much on the question, whether the office of a presbyter and a bishop be the same according to Scrip-

ture. In the "Proposals to both Houses of Parliament for uniting the Protestant interest for the present and preventing divisions for the future," published in 1689, is given the draft of a bill for that purpose.

The press has not ever been long silent on the subject of revising the Liturgy and establishing the distinction between uniformity and unity: nor is it improbable, that if it should appear advisable hereafter, an abridgement of the various tracts on the subject, and a reduction of the arguments used, into one digest, may be attempted. In the mean time, this short sketch and the catalogue of the British Museum may point out to any enquirer authorities enough for a revision of the Liturgy.

Abp. Tillotson died in November 1694, and was succeeded by Tenison: and under the advice of Abp. Tenison, William issued, on the 15th February following, his injunctions, without any further mention therein of reforming the Liturgy. The disputes between Sherlock and South, a year afterwards, drew from William other directions, dated 3d February, which were also silent as to any changes in the Liturgy. The Commons petitioned against profaneness, in Feb. 1697-8, and the proclamation was issued soon afterwards. Kennet, III. 744, 746, 775. The attention of men had been taken away from the old subjects of interest: and in 1699 Kennet says the hapless distinction between High Church and Low Church was prevailing, p. 777; and on p. 796, he passes to the disputes in convocation about its own powers. Tindal's Contin. III. 481.

The "Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church," and the "History

of the Creed," both by Mr. King, afterwards Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor ; and Mr. Sclater's Reply, called "The Original Draught of the Primitive Church ;" were all three published in the 18th century.

During the Arian Controversy, in the 18th century, Whiston published "The Liturgy of the Church of England reduced nearer to the Primitive Standard, humbly proposed to Publick Consideration." The second and "corrected" edition is dated 1750. He sets forth the Liturgy so altered throughout as appeared advisable in his eyes. The Apostles' Creed may be used, and in it the Descent into Hell, the Holy Catholic Church, and the Communion of Saints, may be left out. The Athanasian Creed is put out. The substance of the first four clauses in the Litany is retained ; but the expressions so changed, that Arians and Trinitarians may all agree to use them. No part of the Communion Service is read, where there is not a communion.

David Hughes is said to have been the author of the "Scruples of a Country Curate;" occasioned by the Burial and Baptismal Services, and published in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1737. p. 21. In the same number, p. 37, are some useful remarks upon the translation of the Greek term into "church," rather than into "congregation." See Canon 55. "The Hints submitted to the serious attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly associated," are attributed to "a person of great importance," and signed D.H., Kent, Sept. 20, 1736. There is a fourth edition of them in 1790.

John Jones, vicar of Alconbury, wrote out his "Free and Candid Disquisitions," and lodged them in the

hands of an eminent and worthy prelate in 1746, with a request that the contents of the MSS. might be communicated to the Synod. Mr. Jones heard no more of that copy, as is stated in the preface to the second edition of them. The first edition was printed in 1749: the second in 1750, and it contains 371 pages, and details in most respectful language the changes proposed in the Liturgy, and the reasons why they are proposed.

The Petition agreed upon at the Feathers' Tavern was presented to Parliament on the 6th Feb. 1772. Blackburne's Reflections on the fate of that Petition, and his Observations on Dean Tucker's "Apology for the Church," were first printed in 1774. Works, vol. vii. p. 33. An Apology for the Liturgy and Clergy of the Church of England, in answer to D. H.'s "Hints," was published in 1790. And in the same year were also published, by a "Consistent Protestant," his "Considerations on the Expediency of revising the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England," in which "notice is taken of the objections to that measure urged in two late pamphlets."

Secker's "Oratio Synodalis" was prepared for the Convocation in 1761, but not delivered on account of the archbishop's illness: it does not appear when it was first printed. The passage, now to be quoted, is p. 517, Works, vol. v.: and is followed, in the original, by a statement of the reasons for which the archbishop held any attempt at a new translation of the Bible inadvisable at that particular time. The archbishop of Cashel, in these times, has not made a revision of the translation of the Old Testament appear inadvisable now, to all



who are ignorant of Hebrew. And that the New Testament should now be revised, is almost universally admitted. And the Greek is in almost exclusive use, with all that can read Greek; which supports the call for such a revision: it cannot be altogether owing to the greater clearness of the Greek text, which, in most editions, is not frittered away into verses: or to the Greek language, as possessing participles and cases and genders and better defined prepositions. Against these unquestionable advantages, if urged as accounting for the general recurrence to the Greek, it may be fairly said that a knowledge of the English translation in its own words is indispensable, and most useful, in a professional view, and for every man's common use.

“*Esto igitur, idoneos Articulos Fidei in auxilium vocandos: at certe nostros recoquendos, et incudi reddendos, non pauci contendunt. Nec diffitemur potuisse quædam aptius enunciari, et adversus tam argutias quam hallucinationes melius muniri. Sed præclare, ut illis temporibus, instructa et composita sunt omnia: egentque hodie tantum explicatione commoda: non vafram et veteratoriam intelligo, sed artis grammaticæ criticæque regulis consonam. Nec leve est periculum, ne qui, integris manentibus articulis, nos ab eorum vera mente descivisse jactitant, ἑτεροδοξίας crimen atrociori longe clamore, tristiorique eventu impingant, si medicas iis manus, tanquam malesanis, adhibeamus. Et hæc eadem velim sibi in memoriam revocent, qui Liturgiam item recenseri reformarique flagitant. Ornatior quidem, accuratior, plenior, brevior, et potest ea fieri et debet: sed modesta tractatione, sed tranquillis hominum animis;*

non temerariis, qualia vidimus et videmus, ausis, non inter media dissidia, mutuasque suspiciones. Verum ut de his statuatur, novam saltem Scripturæ versionem desiderari, plurimis videtur: nempe ut populus Christianus ea luce fruatur, quæ favente Numine oraculis divinis per continuas virorum doctorum vigiliis affulsit, hisce 150 annis proxime elapsis, ante quos confecta est Anglica Vulgata: et quis refragetur honestissimæ petitioni?"

And the granting of every such petition as may tend to keep us all Christians in heart as well as in profession, may well be considered a national benefit. The Church has on earth an arm of power and proportionate usefulness, if men do not palsy its exertions. When our Church is winning souls in bloodless peace, England is most prospered. It has been well said by one whose voice all must respect, that "the most solid hopes for the well-being of our country depend not so much on her fleets and armies, not so much on the wisdom of her rulers or on the spirit of her people, as on the persuasion that she still contains many who love and obey the Gospel of Christ, that their intercession may yet prevail; that for the sake of these Heaven may still look upon us with an eye of favour. It is to the decline of religion and morality that our national difficulties must be chiefly ascribed." And what promises more effectual and speedier amendment under the good hand of our God, than measures which win conformity to that Gospel which kindles a bright and shining light in the Church of England, and to that spirit which flows through the veins of her Liturgy? Perhaps,

indeed, a nation may be an abstract thing in one sense : but it is an aggregate of imperishable souls at any given point of time, each of which souls, and so the whole aggregate, is capable of punishment. A few righteous men would have saved Sodom. The nations of Canaan were not destroyed until the measure of their iniquity was full. A capital punishment of idolatry would, while enforced among the Jews, bar the sins which made part of the worship of idols, and so became doubly a snare to the sensual and superstitious, and rendered it exceedingly difficult to keep up in the nation purity of heart. The Lord himself hath said : “ Behold, as the clay is in the potter’s hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel. At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and pull down, and to destroy it : if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build, and to plant it : if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them. Now, therefore, go to, speak to the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you : return ye now every one from his evil way, and make your ways and your doings good.” Jeremiah, xviii. 6—11. Let us not walk after our own devices, and every one do the imagination of his evil heart : let us not burn incense to vanity, or cause men to stumble in their ways.

## CHAP. XII.

Ἐφεκτέον ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τὴν πολυλογίαν, ἵνα μήπως ἢ τῇ ἡμῶν ἀσθενείᾳ τῆς φύσεως τὸ προταθὲν ἐρμηνεύσαι μὴ δυνηθέντων, ἢ τῇ τῶν ἀκροάτων βραδυτέρᾳ συνέσει, πρὸς ἀκριβῆ τοῦ ῥηθέντος κατὰ-ληψιν ἐλθεῖν μὴ χωρησόντων, ἐξ ὁποτέρου τούτων, ἢ βλασφημίας, ἢ σχίσματος, εἰς ἀνάγκην ὁ δῆμος περισταίῃ.

Constantine's Letter to Alexander and Arius. EUSEB. II. 69.

THERE is a Tract in the Harleian Miscellany, XII. 266. entitled, "A Letter from a Country Clergyman," said to have been Abp. Wake, touching some reproaches cast upon the bishops, during the disputes between them and the Lower House of Convocation; in which it is said, "One fault which is mightily laid to the charge of our bishops, is their being of 'latitudinarian' principles as they are called, that is, no hearty friends to our Ecclesiastical constitution; but are rather inclined to the Dissenters' tenets and endeavour by all means to bring the Church to the Conventicle level; and that it is in order to this end, they are so very fond of setting a Comprehension on foot, thereby to destroy our present Church Establishment and discipline, and set up something else which likes them better." The writer of this tract has a different opinion from that of Abp. Tenison, as to publishing the proceedings in the Jerusalem Chamber. After saying what their intention

was in that conference, and how much it had been misrepresented, he proceeds thus: "I could wish their Lordships would be so just to themselves as to publish the Resolutions of the Committee in the Jerusalem Chamber: and then I am persuaded that we should all be of opinion that their Lordships are so far from meriting the reproach which is for that reason thrown upon them, that they would appear to deserve the highest commendation. And since people have grown cool upon that matter, I can hardly find any sensible man who pretends to find more fault now than ill-timing of that design. But, by the way, is it not a little hard, that we should bear a perpetual enmity to our bishops for the ill-timing of an action? Nay, this was no more than what was before designed in the Comprehension bill, in the Lords' House, which was liked well enough by some of those persons who appeared so keenly against the Commission, and the treating of that affair in Convocation afterwards: though upon what reason they changed their opinion, I pretend not to secret history enough to understand: unless they began to dislike it, because some other persons besides themselves came to take a part in the doing it."

These proceedings in the Jerusalem Chamber were all recorded: and the original records may still be in the library of the bishop of London, or at Lambeth. If they were examined, it is likely they would furnish most ample information, in respect to any present Commission, and the proceedings thereunder. The use of precedents, in such cases, amounts to a moral necessity. The disregard of them argues more zeal than discretion:

and would, as far as it is possible, bring the present age down to the level of the past: and disfranchise the pages of history, by confining them to the purposes which a poem or romance would better effect, if well written.

It is not to be expected that any such precedents could be found, as would not leave the task imposed upon any present Commissioners exceedingly difficult and laborious. In which quarter to begin, would be determined by the Commission. The repeal of the Test and Corporation acts will at once establish the propriety of abstaining from excommunication, as a punishment for any civil offence: but to any effectual discipline in the Church there are at present opposed many serious impediments. Parishes are too large, and churches too small: and all pews are not understood as open to any parishioner when not occupied at the moment service begins, as one plan of making more easy the means of instruction. A faculty or prescription should not close the door of a pew only part filled; or be in force, in the absence of those for whose use it is granted, on any particular day. A parish containing 80,000 inhabitants contradicts all notion of a parish church: and while there is some evil in chapels of ease, the good of them is not apparent: and each of them might soon be made into a parish, upon the principle admitted in 58 Geo. III. cap. 45. sec. 17, 18, 19, 21, 24, and the acts amending it. Is the original notion of a parish consistent with many churches, and a consequent necessity for many ministers? And is it to be abandoned, because the division into parishes has been made subservient to purposes

with which the Church, as such, has not any thing to do? Proprietary chapels have long been disapproved, and are admitted only as the lesser evil of two. The new act, 7 and 8 Geo. IV. cap. 72, is a great point gained; and yet it can hardly be thought to go far enough for every purpose it might have been made to answer: and it is also said to be fettered by other restrictions and bye-laws, as to the mode of application to the Commissioners resting upon some alleged analogy to the 5th Geo. IV. c. 103. sec. 5 & 9. The third section is as follows:

“ And be it further enacted, That when any person or persons shall, to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, endow any chapel built or hereafter to be built by such person or persons, with some permanent provision in land or moneys in the funds exclusively or in addition to the pew-rents or other profits arising from the said chapel, such endowment to be settled and assured as the said Commissioners shall authorize and direct, it shall be lawful for the said Commissioners to declare that the right of nominating a Minister to the said chapel shall for ever thereafter be in the person or persons building and endowing the said chapel, his, her, or their heirs and assigns, or in such person or persons as he, she, or they shall appoint, and notwithstanding no compensation or endowment may be made to or for the benefit of the Minister of the church of the parish within which such chapel may be built.”

Before any particular changes are proposed in the Liturgy, it is right to observe that the principal object at present is to obtain such information as will point out

exactly what changes might now be made with advantage. And those changes which are proposed, are proposed only for the purpose of making out a case for a future inquiry: the result of which inquiry may be such as to prove these pages altogether erroneous, and every change proposed fraught with more danger than promise of good. After a few general remarks, those passages and services in the Prayer Book which have seemed capable of improvement will be pointed out. To praise the Prayer Book, is but a form of praising ourselves: real excellence may be treated without suspicious words of ceremony, because respect cannot be forgotten.

If a Commission could be obtained, then the Commissioners would, in all probability, be all churchmen, and many of them bishops, and empowered to call for returns from each clergyman in every diocese in answer to queries; one of which queries should be in general terms, and request the opinion of each individual on the whole subject. Undoubtedly the clergy are good judges of the effect of the Prayer Book. Any other classes or individuals might be called up and examined by the Commissioners. After these inquiries, a Report should be drawn up, and a Prayer Book be printed; and both thrown into extensive circulation for a year or more. If any alterations be recommended in the translation of the Bible, Bp. Marsh, App. 4. every such alteration should be printed and circulated in like manner, with such reasons given for the alterations in the Prayer Book and Bible as may seem expedient to the Commissioners.

At the end of this period, the Commissioners might see grounds for changing their first scheme: and if so,



the same process should again be gone through, until a Prayer Book and Bible were ready to be recommended to Parliament. And the recommendation might be, that any creeds or prayers of the old Prayer Book that were rejected entirely, should thenceforward be discontinued : but as to any other changes, the old Prayer Book and the old Translation of the Bible should be left in use, and the new ones put in use, at the discretion of each clergyman for such a period, and under such restrictions as Parliament should think proper : until, at the end of the period fixed, the new ones should peremptorily supersede the old ones. The acts of Parliament to authorize the new ones should be passed for the duration of each Parliament, and one year more : so that, upon each succeeding enactment, any change which were approved might easily be made. Due notice, and the Report of a Committee previous to such change, would of course be necessary.

There is not any doubt, but that if the bishops now on the bench should think any change advisable in the Liturgy, the new work will be well suited to the old. They rank among their numbers men as pious and learned as Cranmer, or any individual bishop since Cranmer ; and are far more competent to revise the Liturgy than any of those who framed or revised it heretofore. One hundred and fifty years ought not to have elapsed without giving us some advantages over our forefathers : and the bishops at this moment might well be chosen to represent this age and its improved character : they enjoy the respect, and have round them the prayers of every member of the Church in

which they preside. It has been said, by Doddridge, that the difficulty, so far as he could make it out in regard to changes in the Liturgy for the comprehension of Dissenters, did not in his time at all rest with the bishops, who all desired some changes therein, but with the Privy Council. The passage in Doddridge was read many years ago, and is now quoted from memory.

If the practice in regard to the communion be so far changed as to make it a weekly service of necessity, there will be some difficulties in determining when and how that service is to be used on each Sunday. The frequency of communion has not been found an easy question; and may well abide the discussion. It is now assumed, that the present system will be continued; and on that notion, the only object will be to shorten the service. It may hereafter appear advisable to divide the present Morning Prayer into distinct services: and for that purpose, the suggestions in J. Jones's "*Free and Candid Disquisitions*," p. 60, are worthy much attention. If more than two services on each Sunday be objectionable, the Communion Service might only be read when there was a communion. The Sermon might be dispensed with on sacrament mornings. The Communion Service, as now read, might be read in the afternoons of those Sundays on which there were not any communicants. The terms of the Commission might be general enough to embrace all difficulties in respect to the Church, and the Report would be so much the more valuable.

Merely verbal alterations in the Prayer Book need not be mentioned, as they are almost universally called for.

The American Prayer Book changes "which," and other such expressions, throughout; and indeed words like "prevent," "after," "let," "chances," &c. used against the established choice and rule and right of speaking, tend to mislead many. Nor will any thing be said about the adoption of the Jewish Calendar, in respect to the eves of holidays. If it be deemed inexpedient to revise now the Translation of the Bible, there might be published an accredited Comment, explaining the more difficult passages, and showing the construction to be put on many proceedings recorded in the Bible, which were abused by the Puritans, and are still liable to be abused: or, instead of such Comment, a full general warning, that the conduct of the best Jew does not furnish any authoritative precedent for a Christian. It is not wise to reason upon improbable cases; to speculate upon what should be done if an angel now came down from heaven to command a Christian father at this time to offer up in sacrifice his only son. But it is right to declare, that any General who needlessly and for vengeance, which is not his, puts to death unarmed prisoners of war, is now a murderer, and should be treated as such, though he plead the orders of an angel from heaven. 6 Hom. Rebel. p. 513. If the Bible be put out of consideration, it might appear wise to those who have power and authority to set forth, as to such parts of it as are used in the Prayer Book, a rubric explaining the restrictions under which the Old Testament Lessons are to be applied for a rule of conduct among Christians in this age. It is evident the Lessons at present read from the Old Testament are such that some of them might be changed with great

advantage: or if that be not approved, so much of the act of Uniformity as renders a running comment illegal, might be repealed. The Sermon is too late to answer the same purpose. It would, however, be much better to select some Sunday portions anew, even if the weekly service proceed as usual. As a present expedient, authorized Lectionaries, if such partial selections can be authorized, with a comment, might have their use. It is hardly possible to believe that, supposing a review of the Liturgy was made from other causes, any one person should think the present Sunday Lessons the best that could be selected without a single exception. The Sunday Lessons, either absolutely, or by reference to other chapters which might be substituted for them, have long been considered as more objectionably chosen for a weekly service, than the Daily Lessons for a daily service.

The most effectual plan of shortening the Communion Service, and relieving the clergyman, would be to dispense with the necessity for his delivering the bread and wine to each individual communicant. In Luke xxii. 17, where the cup is first mentioned, the words are, "Divide it among yourselves." In St. Matthew xxvi. 27, "He gave the cup to them, saying, Drink ye all of it." St. Mark records much the same language, xiv. 22—24: and this language is applicable to many at a time. St. Paul's statement, in 1 Cor. xi, implies that the practice then was for each communicant to take for himself bread: and the abuse of the practice is censured, not its use. From the rubric immediately preceding the Exhortation, it may be collected that the compilers of our

Prayer Book did not contemplate the distraction and confusion now occasioned by approaching and leaving the rails of the altar; and did expect the whole number of communicants to be at once “conveniently placed for the receiving of the holy sacrament.”

The first observation in Whiston’s Liturgy is, that the whole church, in every place, ought to be distinguished into the catechumens, the penitent, and the faithful. If this were done, the general service might be drawn up with greater allowances for Dissenters than will be deemed practicable without some such a distinction. For with it, all those points which are not necessary to distinguish the Church of England, and give offence to many persons, might be used in the Communion Service, and there only. To what extent this should be done, would be determined by the result of the inquiries before the Commissioners: in all probability, the omission of the Athanasian Creed, and the variation at the beginning of the Liturgy, would be enough: and there is not any command that prayers shall in direct terms be addressed to each Person. The Trinity is the substance of the Protestant faith in a brief expression, sounding nobly to the disciplined and understanding ear; yet it may not be advisable, where many need an interpreter. There is reason enough to suspect that the Athanasian Creed has done more injury to the real doctrine of the Trinity than good: for, instead of this sound and wholesome doctrine, it has substituted a questionable adherence to a series of sentences; and a formal subscription to them has been made, until many think it enough of itself when made, and that it super-

sedes all other acceptance of the doctrine. It is difficult to understand how Wheatly should have advised him who scruples at the denying salvation to such as do not believe the articles of the Athanasian Creed, to remember that such as hold any fundamental heresy thereby denounced are condemned in Scripture; and cite in support of his advice the following texts, and not any other authority: "Who is a liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ? He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son. Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father: [but] he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also." 1 John, ii. 22, 23. "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself: he that believeth not God hath made him a liar; because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son." 1 John, v. 10. "But there were false prophets also among the people; even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction." 2 Pet. ii. 1.

In the whole of the Bible, a new division, and perhaps a chronological one into chapters or sections, is advisable. And it seems probable that these chapters or sections would be divided into paragraphs where any subdivisions were necessary, but never into verses. Any division into verses tends to make our knowledge of the Bible mechanical and unspiritual: and fritters away into detached bits what should be a definite and consistent whole; and should, as a whole, supply the rule of daily life from general principles to be applied

in detail by each individual to his own circumstances according to his own conscience. The recognition of isolated verses as direct and conclusive authority, in all cases without any discrimination, is a dangerous mistake : and yet it is one but too natural a consequence of a division into verses, which is a severance of the context. In cases where some violence must be done to circumstances or language, our endeavour should always be to bring the particular case about which we are in doubt within the general rule, and not to establish it as an exception from the rule. But the general rule is lost to many from the pages of our Bibles, as now broken up. Their minds suffer, even as their eyes, an embarrassing number of little passages which they do not put together and often do not acknowledge as capable of being put together ; although it is only by putting them together that the real meaning can be ascertained. It has been said, as a sort of vaunt, that no other book could sustain such a division : and if it be truly said, the vaunt is fatal to the continuance of that division.

Both the translations of the Psalms are held capable of great amendments, which would take away some part of the fierce and hard expressions now found in them. Some of the psalms are liable to objections in their present form ; and much misconstrued, and seldom applied prophetically : the 109th for instance, or the 69th, one especially chosen for Good Friday, and the application of which is so pointed out, verses 23 to 29. Selections might be held advisable, and would not be without precedent. Burnet, v. 241.

The opinion of Baxter concerning the Catechism is given in his exceptions against the Common Prayer, drawn up at the time of the Savoy Conference, in the following words, *Silvester's Life*, p. 314: "In the Catechism there are omitted some of the essential attributes of God, without which he cannot be rightly known. There is also omitted the doctrine of the law made to Adam, and of man's fall; and the doctrine of our misery is insufficiently touched: the Person, office, and properties of the Redeemer are so insufficiently opened, as we should think the essentials of Christianity are omitted, were it not that they are, generally at least, expressed in the Creed itself, which is more full than the explication of it. There is no mention of the holy scriptures in it: and the doctrine of the Covenant of Grace is very defectively expressed; and so is the doctrine of Sanctification, and other parts of the work of the Holy Ghost: and the whole doctrine of God's judgment and execution; and that of man's duty; and even the nature and use of the Sacraments, in which it is fullest: as will appear by a true comparing it with what we offer." It has been said, that a second and fuller Catechism was intended to succeed the present elementary one; and that Bp. Overall's additions were not made with any view of preventing such second and fuller Catechism.

In the exceptions delivered in to the bishops at the Savoy, the principal objections to the Catechism were, that the answer as to the sacraments might be "two only, Baptism and the Lord's Supper;" and that the entering infants into covenant with their Maker might



be more warily expressed. In general, the Non-conformists observed, "That the doctrine of the sacraments, which was added upon the Conference at Hampton Court, is much more fully and particularly delivered than the other parts of the Catechism, in short answers, fitted to the memories of children: and thereupon we offer it to be considered, First, Whether there should not be a more distinct and full explication of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer: Secondly, Whether it were not convenient to add, what seems to be wanting, somewhat particularly concerning the nature of faith, of repentance, the two covenants, of justification, sanctification, adoption, and regeneration."

It might be thought necessary to make some changes in the Catechism, if infants were allowed to be baptized without sponsors, or if the parents were allowed to stand as sponsors themselves, or if the form of answering for the infants, when baptized, were changed. In answer to the last question but two in the Catechism, the Americans have put "spiritually" for "verily and indeed." The article should be left out before "the bread and wine;" as our bodies are not strengthened, and our hunger is not intended to be satisfied, by such bread and wine as are administered in church. If the words of the Lord's Prayer be held too dear, and too much consecrated by long usage, to admit any change for such a trifling advantage, the Catechism might be made to supply the same good which any such change might have supplied. If the present answer concerning the Lord's Prayer were reduced into shorter and more answers, the additional questions and answers might easily be drawn up.

The two words used in the Greek, and translated in our Prayer Book “trespasses,” are ὀφειλήματα and ἁμαρτίας, and translated in the New Testament “debts” and “sins.” Both these words appear more significant than “trespasses.” We may take “debts” in the strongest construction, and then they will mean that which we ought to have done and have not done, and so are held liable for; and “sins” mean sins of omission as well as commission: and the next line in St. Luke uses the word “indebted;” so as to keep up the notion of what we have neglected to do. xi. 4. What in the Greek seems a similitude, or a way of shewing the suppliant’s own knowledge of his duty, in the hope of being enabled to perform it, or a thankful recognition of our high calling on earth, looks in the English like a meritorious condition. “Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil,” is a sentence which admits an useful reference to the prayer in the 17th chapter of St. John, which is, not that Christians should be taken out of the world, but that they should be kept from the evil.

Upon creeds and heresy to be obviated by them, it will be right to quote the highest authority from the 17th chapter of St. John: “This is life eternal, to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent.” In the 24th chapter of Acts, St. Paul uses the following words: “After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets: and have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust. And herein do I exercise myself, to

have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men."

The purposes of the Church and the purposes of the State, when the word 'purpose' is not used to insinuate what the writer shrinks from stating openly, neither ought to be separated nor can be separated. If the "powers that be" are a King, an absolute or a constitutional king, they who are not religious cannot really be loyal; and they who are not loyal cannot really be religious: and if any doubts and troubles arose, this truth would not be at all in dispute; but the dispute would be, in one case, who was the rightful King; and in the other, about the epithet "constitutional." And these purposes of Church and State might perhaps be answered without so many creeds and articles and oaths. The declaration upon entering, for instance, at an English University the name of a student was proposed in the following words by a notice dated 8th January 1773, signed "Thomas Fothergill, V. C." for a Convocation to be holden Feb. 4: "I do declare that I am a member of the Church of England, and that I will conform to the worship and Liturgy of the same as it is by law established."

It has long been held enough to require professed Dissenters to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy under 1st William III.; and to make the following declaration:

"I do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a Christian and a Protestant, and, as such, that I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as commonly received among Protes-

tant Churches, do contain the revealed will of God ; and that I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice." 19 Geo. III. c. 44.

Why should professed friends to the Church be required to say more ? Upon oaths, as distinct from declarations, it has been urged, that oaths do not afford any greater security than declarations to the party who requires them for security's sake, and yet he thinks they increase the guilt of him who breaks them. In charity, therefore, ought they to be discontinued, as offering in any case but a semblance of security, and in some cases a certainty of greater guilt. In every practical sense, each assertion we make is an oath, and in the presence of Him to whom each idle word or thought is known. An assertion of the omnipresence of God, made by those who administer any declaration, would serve all the purposes an oath can really serve, and do away all indirect sanction of a simple untruth. At the best, oaths, as compared with declarations, only give the thoughtless an advantage over the thoughtful, and widen breaches that should be closing together, by preventing such a silent and conventional approximation of both parties as might tend to save each that imputation of error which, in the weakness of human nature, each dreads beyond common endurance. The requisition of an oath involves suspicions of such a nature, that they imply their own truth : at the least, it puts upon compulsion that which, after all, can only be given by willing hearts. A thousand oaths could not bind, in any such sense as would benefit his soul, any man that would break his word.

If, however, a creed is to be, why should not the Apostles' Creed be deemed satisfactory? That it does not contain all the substance of our faith, is an objection equally valid against every creed. The Athanasian Creed has not in it any recognition of the Bible, which yet is the foundation of all religion. It cannot be contended that "Christian verity" or "Catholick Religion" mean the Bible: if they do, the expressions should be changed. Waterland considers the earliest reception of the Athanasian Creed into the Public Offices of any Church was in France, and at least as early as the year 670. p. 220. In England, he thinks about the year 800; and proves it about the year 930. p. 225.

Among the Tracts in the Harleian Miscellany, reprinted in 1811, is one, in the 12th vol. p. 130, entitled, "Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius," which "appeals to all men that have any freedom of judgment remaining, whether the creed is fit to be retained in any Christian Church." It considers the creed "levelled not only against the true faith, but also destructive of that love and charity which is the spirit and life of Christianity;" and to have been the cause of many controversies and bitter animosities among Christians, until, at the end, the more fierce and violent "attained a tyrannical domination over their opposers, and introduced and settled a Christianity or a superstition or a polity quite contrary to the doctrine and practice of our blessed Lord and His Apostles." This may be the same pamphlet which is alluded to by Bp. Van Mildert, in his *Life of Waterland*, p. 41; and which is there said to consist chiefly of metaphysical

objections to the doctrines of the Athanasian Creed. The first sentence of it is, "A good life is of absolute necessity to salvation;" a position which requires as much allowance for its expression as the creed in question: "but a right belief in those points that have been always controverted in the Churches of God is in no degree necessary, much less necessary before all things." Whether metaphysical or not, it refuses the phraseology, and misconstrues the purpose of the creed, which seems to be declaratory, not explanatory; and then founds upon such misconception a self-convicting and intemperate attack upon the Athanasian Creed. It is very probable this creed owes much more to its enemies than to its friends: at least it has been long retained without many professed friends, and long the point of such attacks as did not argue the best spirit in its assailants. It cannot be retained as declaring the faith of the whole Church, in whatever sense "Catholic" was intended to be taken. It is confidently said, that "Athanasius against all the world, and all the world against Athanasius," was almost a proverb in the times of him whose opinions are, in the creed, identified with those of the whole Church.

If the Athanasian Creed be given up as it stands by itself, but by a common policy retained in the service, to receive, and by its own material substance and resistance exhaust, the attacks which, were it not there, would be made upon some other point of greater value, the substance of a satisfactory reply will be found in the rule, that we are not to do evil in order that good may result: and then the question becomes

again the direct and absolute character of the Athanasian Creed.

When the Emperor Constantine heard of the disputes in the Church at Alexandria, he is represented by Eusebius as sending thither a tried and illustrious Christian, and giving him a letter for Alexander and Arius, in the hope of putting an end to those disputes. The letter is given at the end of the second book of the Life of Constantine, and contains much excellent advice. Of such questions as were then debated, "foolish and unlearned questions," the Emperor says: "Such of them as are not enjoined by the necessity of any law, but brought forward by the petulant contentiousness incident to those who have nothing to do, yet will not turn their leisure to good account, if indeed for the sake of exercising the genius they be permitted, ought nevertheless to be shut up within our own intellect, and not to be entrusted imprudently to any public audience." Who can fully understand or explain such questions? or, if there be such an one, how few will be the fit audience: nor can the investigator himself maintain his footing on such slippery ground, without great danger of falling: and the conclusion is given in the words standing at the head of this chapter; cap. 69. book 2. Euseb.

Until the beginning of the sixth century, the early Christians are said to have recited their creeds only at Easter and Whitsuntide, the solemn times of Baptism. If the original use of a creed, as a creed, be any authority, Lord Chancellor King and others seem to have

proved that, in the early centuries, a creed and consequent admission into the assemblies of Christians was derived from, and corresponded with the secret sign or conventional sentence and consequent partaking of the heathen mysteries. Even the expression "A form of sound words" may not mean any creed beyond the declaration of the character and office of the Messiah : and meaning that only, or more than that, might be necessary, when spies and persecution were dreaded : and not necessary, when spies, without persecution attendant upon their representations, might enter into the assemblies of Christians, and perhaps be converted. At all events, the Scriptures themselves do not give any other creeds than such as are limited to the declaration of the character and office of the Messiah in a few words. And in the succeeding years, according to Lord Chancellor King, *History of the Creed*, 258. and *Enquiry*, part II. chap. 3. the creeds may be conjectured to have remained such short declarations, varying in various Churches without any breach of unity. Such declarations were at once the plainest and the deepest : capable of disproof, as being rested upon facts comparatively recent ; and full of hope, when the consequences of the Crucifixion were opened to willing hearts. The call of the Gospel is still, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved : " and the glad tidings are still, "God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

Extreme care must be taken, once more be it said, in



what sense any formula of words is admitted to be a confession of faith. If our lips confess the Lord Jesus, our conduct must prove or disprove such a confession. With the heart man believeth unto righteousness. Our seamen are not required to subscribe a confession of courage. The test of faith is holiness of life; and the confession of faith is holiness of life. "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen:" and the faithful are not those who profess any given creed, but those who so live as if the things they yet can only hope for, and yet cannot see, were substantially present, and no longer expectant only; and proved to be real, and not imaginary, by the strongest possible demonstration. Any apprehension of what is called false religion, so far as the words can stand together and convey any meaning, is not to be soothed by a creed. And it has been already observed, that the Authorities of earth have not any thing to do with false religion: their commission is "the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of those that do well." 1 Pet. ii. 14. The mind is of necessity free always, and every where: and, as in more glaring instances, men have abused this freedom to their own great detriment; and have neglected to govern the course of their own thoughts, and so become slaves, instead of using their excellent privileges aright. The conduct is not ever free any where, but has its limits prescribed by human laws, beyond which every trespass is punished: whilst the divine law keeps men far from that debateable land that immediately joins up to those limits. In ancient times the distinction between sins and crimes was not definite enough: and the laws

were so nearly the whole code of morality, that when they changed, the boundaries of right and wrong were unsettled. Although every human law were changing round a Christian, his practice would not be affected. In this light Christianity severs Church and State: and shedding upon its disciples the love of their God and their neighbour, leaves the purest human laws at an infinite distance beneath its own exacting and increasing holiness.

There does not appear any sufficient reason for retaining any creed as part of the daily service in church. If any one be retained for Sundays or Holidays, or the Communion Service, the Apostles' Creed would generally be preferred. And then its phrases and articles might perhaps be reviewed with advantage. The believing might be expressed as the doctrine of the Church of England. The preposition "in" seems an imperfect expression, and requires much filling up. Pearson says, "To believe in God, is to believe that God is:" p.42. All the observations of Pearson do not bring a matter of common history within the received meaning of a creed: so that it should be necessary now to ascertain time by mentioning Pontius Pilate. And it seems better to say, with the Nicene Creed, "suffered for us," or, with the Athanasian Creed, "suffered for our salvation." "Catholic" should be rendered "universal." The "communion of saints" needs explanation, and suits ill with any excluding creeds. Although the word "hell," when properly understood, be an exact statement of the truth, the word is too liable to be misunderstood. *εἰς τὰ κατώτατα* occurs in the Psalter of

Pope Gregory. Usher. de Rom. Eccles. Symbolo Apostolico, &c. Oxon. 1660. p. 9. "To the parts below the earth," not "to the earth described as being the lower parts," *εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια*, occurs in other ancient creeds. King, 258. The "descent into hell" and the "communion of saints" were articles not at first in the creed. Pearson, Art. 5. note on the word "creed," p. 371; and Art. 9. note on the word "rest," p. 564.

It cannot be urged as an objection to our Liturgy, that it is drawn up for a community of Christians far more advanced towards the perfectness of Christianity than we now are in England; but it may be urged as a reason why some of the words and parts of the services should be modified, at least until the clear boundaries of Ecclesiastical discipline be laid down. And these changes, as they would be made for the relief of the clergyman's conscience, so should they be left to his discretion in the first instance. Infant Baptism and the Burial Service almost require the full character of Christianity: but now, they who shamelessly do those things which are of evil report, which should not even be named among Christians, cannot be told they are known to be offending, and so put out of communion until amendment of life.

The Prayer Book has been altered many times; and the present inquiry does not advocate a new proceeding, but the resumption of an old one. And, beyond all question, a Committee of Religion in the House of Commons is a Constitutional proceeding, if any fear a Commission or a Synod. And a Petition for the prosecution of any one of the three methods would not lack

subscribers, although the Commission would in all probability be preferred to a Synod or the House of Commons, as a proper preparative for such further measures as might be shewn practicable in a Synod or the House of Commons.

Some power to shorten and vary the services on week-days, if not on Sundays, might well be vested in each parish priest: and, while such precautions are taken to prevent the incompetent from taking upon themselves holy Orders, more discretion might be vested in those who have been found competent, and therefore ordained. If this liberty were abused, individuals who abused it might be restrained by their Ordinary from like misconduct in future. Much discretion was originally left in the parish priests: and those who mean to argue from its having been taken away, must prove why it was taken away; and cannot assume it was found inexpedient, in order to prove it is inexpedient. The Lessons were not even prescribed in some of the early Prayer Books: Jones, p. 196. And a choice of Lessons, since taken away, is given the minister at the end of the first book of Homilies: Strype's Life of Abp. Parker, i. 167. old paging 84. The alternatives in our present Prayer Book admit the principle. Responsibility may be said in one sense to be the means of obtaining mental strength, as exercise is of bodily strength, for those upon whom it once rested, up to the required pitch. That strength will be granted those who are duly called to higher stations, according to the duties of those stations, will account for the variations of rank in the Church to those who do not admit them on higher

grounds; and who will so consider a bishop above a priest, because he has not only holy Orders, but a church, and not only a church, but a diocese.

In the Marriage Service many things require adaptation to present notions. The word "worship," when understood to mean "make worshipful," instead of humbling the wife and taking away the respect due to her, is perhaps the best that could be used; but, like other words, must be given up when misunderstood so generally. Should the binding part of marriage remain an Ecclesiastical ceremony, the clauses that press upon Dissenters, and are not in the very words of Scripture, should be left out, and others put in their stead. Every event, every instant of our lives, is religious in one sense: and the more important events are, in that sense the more religious in proportion to their importance. And yet, of whatever importance Marriage may be in its direct and indirect responsibilities, it is not a religious contract in the sense that renders a service and ceremony in church necessary. There is not in it any thing like what there is in Baptism or the Lord's Supper. When it was held a sacrament, then a service and ceremony in church were of necessity. The probability is, that the present service, at the first institution of it, was a wise modification of what could not then be dispensed with altogether. And in confirmation of this it may be observed, that the early Prayer Books required the newly-married couple to receive the sacrament at the time of their marriage: and the present Rubric was one result of the Savoy Conference. Wheatly, 434.

However idle some of the changes in the Liturgy

proposed by the Puritans may have been, however idle any changes that may be proposed by any modern Dissenters may appear, it will be well to take one general lesson for the government of religious controversies—use not any ridicule : it does not and cannot ever convince, and is generally meant to silence an adversary : the advocate who uses it with success, is more to be pitied than his shrinking opponent : and from their personal feelings, the goodness or badness of either cause is put out of the question.

If it should not appear advisable to retain any one of the political forms of prayer, instead of them we might have some additions to our Prayer for the King, insisting upon the connexion of loyalty and religion, and made a part of every Sunday's service. And yet the repetition of such a prayer would not offer any security for loyalty, any more than the present political forms can offer such security. Such prayers and forms are powerless in that point of view ; but may tend to shape and obtain the gift of an obedient heart. Our religion is not in the Temple, as was the Jews' religion ; is not in the State, as many admirers of Warburton imply, but is in our hearts ; and there requires obedience to Pagan rulers, if so it happened, on the same grounds that it requires obedience to a Christian monarch.

Any remarks upon the Ordination Services are at present unnecessary. If any alteration were made in the sixth Article, it would be advisable that the deacon should express his belief in the Canon of Scripture in terms borrowed from the bishop's second question to the priests. The obedience promised to Ecclesiastical supe-

riors is understood to be, and might therefore be declared to be, limited to things lawful and expedient. In the preface to the Ordination Service, the Deacon is required to be learned in Latin, in such terms as seem to preclude the ordination of those who are not learned in Latin. The second question put to the priests in the American Prayer Book varies in the first sentence, and there only from ours, and is as follows: "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain all doctrine required as necessary for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ." The Americans retain our words of Ordination, but allow the bishop to use the following form: "Take thou authority to execute the office of a priest in the church of God now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands: and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy Sacraments: in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

It is not necessary to say much about the Canons, as it is allowed on all hands how much they need a revision. The 40th, against Simony; the 112th, that Non-communicants at Easter are to be presented; and the 139th, that the National Synod is the Church representative, may be named as instances. By Tyndal, the word "Church" is mostly rendered "Congregation:" and beneficed clergymen returned to the Synod those members which were not chosen in a manner still less likely to render that Synod "the Church representative."

## CHAP. XIII.

Id verò interea, quod parvas Anglicus hospes  
 Dilectis olim titulis signaverit urbes,  
 Ne vanum reputa : quoniam sæpe illa tuenti  
 Mœnia continuò veteris prædulce recursat  
 Hinc desiderium patriæ, et divinitus orta  
 Mnemosyne solitos animo revocabit amores.

Oxon. 1812. HEN. LATHAM, è Coll. Æn. Nas.

THE following short account of the American Church will not be deemed foreign to the principal object of these pages.

A general Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was held in the city of Philadelphia, from May 17 to May 24, 1814: and one of their Resolutions was, "That the Journals of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, from the commencement of the said Convention, together with an Appendix containing the Constitution and Canons of the Church, be published, under the superintendence of the bishop of this Church in Pennsylvania."

The publication was made under the superintendence of Bp. White; and the edition from which the following particulars are taken, is in 8vo. pp. 381, Phil. 1817. The Conventions since that period have also published their proceedings. That of 1817, in 60 pp. 2d edition, Phil. 1820: that of 1820, in 96 pp. Phil. 1820. The Special Convention in 1821 fills 55 pp. Phil. 1821. The



Convention of 1823 fills 115 pp. New York 1823. It has not been practicable to get a copy of the proceedings of the last Convention held at Philadelphia in Nov. 1826.

From the preface to the volume of 1817, the following passage is extracted :

“In pursuance of preceding correspondence, there assembled some of the clergy of New York, of New Jersey, and of Pennsylvania, in the city of New Brunswick, New Jersey, in May 1784: and there being a few respectable lay members of the Church attending on public business in the same city, their presence was desired. The immediate object of the meeting, was the revival of a charitable corporation, which had existed before the Revolution, clothed with corporate powers, under the government of each of the said three provinces. The opportunity was improved by the clergy from Pennsylvania, of communicating certain measures recently adopted in that State, tending to the organizing of the Church throughout the union. The result was, the inviting of a more general meeting in the ensuing October, at the city of New York: that being the time and place, wherein, according to the charter of the above mentioned corporation, their next meeting should be held. It was accordingly held, for the revival of the corporation: and there appeared deputies, not only from the said three States, but also from others: with the view of consulting on the existing exigency of the Church. The greater number of these deputies were not vested with powers for the binding of their constituents: and therefore, although they called themselves a Convention, in the lax sense in which the word had

been before used, yet they were not an organized body. They did not consider themselves as such : and their only act, was the issuing of a recommendation to the Churches in the several States, to unite under a few Articles to be considered as fundamental. These are the Articles referred to, but not printed in the first Journal ; and therefore are now inserted, in a note to this preface.\*

“ W. M. WHITE,

“ Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church,  
in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.”

“ \* The Articles referred to are as follow :

“ 1. That there shall be a General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

“ 2. That the Episcopal Church in each State, send deputies to the Convention, consisting of clergy and laity.

“ 3. That associated congregations, in two or more States, may send deputies jointly.

“ 4. That the said Church shall maintain the doctrines of the Gospel, as now held by the Church of England ; and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution, and the constitutions of the respective States.

“ 5. That in every State, where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a Member of the Convention ex officio.

“ 6. That the clergy and laity, assembled in Convention, shall deliberate in one body, but shall vote separately : and the concurrence of both shall be necessary to give validity to every measure.

“ 7. That the first meeting of the Convention shall

be at Philadelphia, the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael next: to which it is hoped and earnestly desired, that the Episcopal churches in the respective States will send their clerical and lay deputies; duly instructed and authorized to proceed on the necessary business herein proposed for their deliberation."

That first Convention met on the 27th Sept. 1785; and, among other things, agreed to the "General Constitution of their Church then set out."

The Prayer Book was duly prepared and approved by this Convention; and used by the members, on Friday, Oct. 7, the day they adjourned the Convention.

The second Convention was in June 1786; and took into consideration the reply to their application to the English bishops, which was signed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and seventeen other bishops, and dated Feb. 24, 1786.

The general Constitution of the Church was debated and varied, and passed as there set out.

The answer of the Americans to our bishops was as follows:—

"Most Worthy and Venerable Prelates—

"WE, the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, have received the friendly and affectionate letter which your Lordships did us the honour to write on the 24th day of February, and for which we request you to accept our sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

“ It gives us pleasure to be assured, that the success of our application will probably meet with no greater obstacles than what have arisen from doubts respecting the extent of the alterations we have made and proposed : and we are happy to learn, that as no political impediments oppose us here, those which at present exist in England may be removed.

“ While doubts remain of our continuing to hold the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England, we acknowledge the propriety of suspending a compliance with our request.

“ We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships, that we neither have departed nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship, as far as was consistent with our civil constitutions : and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer, but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate, than to dispute. It is well known, that many great and pious men of the Church of England have long wished for a revision of the Liturgy, which it was deemed imprudent to hazard, lest it might become a precedent for repeated and improper alterations. This is with us the proper season for such a revision. We are now settling and ordering the affairs of our Church ; and if wisely done, we shall have reason to promise ourselves all the advantages that can result from stability and union.

“ We are anxious to complete our Episcopal system,

by means of the Church of England. We esteem and prefer it, and with gratitude acknowledge the patronage and favours for which, while connected, we have constantly been indebted to that Church. These considerations, added to that of agreement in faith and worship, press us to repeat our former request, and to endeavour to remove your present hesitation, by sending you our proposed Ecclesiastical Constitution and Book of Common Prayer.

“ These documents, we trust, will afford a full answer to every question that can arise on the subject. We consider your Lordships’ letter as very candid and kind; we repose full confidence in the assurances it gives: and that confidence, together with the liberality and catholicism of your venerable body, lead us to flatter ourselves, that you will not disclaim a branch of your Church merely for having been, in your Lordships’ opinion, if that should be the case, pruned rather more closely than its separation made absolutely necessary.

“ We have only to add, that as our Church in sundry of these States have already proceeded to the election of persons to be sent for consecration, and others may soon proceed to the same, we pray to be favoured with as speedy an answer to this our second address, as in your great goodness you were pleased to give to our former one.

“ We are, with great and sincere respect,

“ Most worthy and venerable Prelates,

“ Your obedient and very humble servants.”

“ In Convention,

“ Christ Church, Philadelphia, June 26, 1786.”

An adjourned Convention (p. 33) met a second time in Oct. 1786, and received and recorded the following Letter from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York:—

“ Influenced by the same sentiments of fraternal regard, expressed by the archbishops and bishops in their answer to your address, we desire you to be persuaded, that if we have not yet been able to comply with your request, the delay has proceeded from no tardiness on our part. The only cause of it has been the uncertainty in which we were left by receiving your address unaccompanied by those communications with regard to your Liturgy, Articles, and Ecclesiastical Constitution, without the knowledge of which we could not presume to apply to the Legislature, for such powers as were necessary to the completion of your wishes. The Journal of the Convention, and the first part of your Liturgy, did not reach us till more than two months after our receipt of your address; and we were not in possession of the remaining part of it and of your Articles, till the last day of April. The whole of your communications was then, with as little delay as possible, taken into consideration at a meeting of the archbishops and fifteen of the bishops, being all who were then in London and able to attend; and it was impossible not to observe with concern, that if the essential doctrines of our common faith were retained, less respect however was paid to our Liturgy than its own excellence, and your declared attachment to it, had led us to expect: not to mention a variety of verbal alterations, of the necessity or propriety of which we are by no means satisfied: we saw with grief, that two of the

confessions of our Christian faith, respectable for their antiquity, have been entirely laid aside; and that even in that which is called the Apostles' Creed, an article is omitted, which was thought necessary to be inserted, with a view to a particular heresy, in a very early age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception. Nevertheless, as a proof of the sincere desire which we feel to continue in spiritual communion with the members of your Church in America, and to complete the orders of your ministry, and trusting that the communications which we shall make to you, on the subject of these and some other alterations, will have their desired effect, we have, even under these circumstances, prepared a bill for conveying to us the powers necessary for this purpose. It will in a few days be presented to Parliament, and we have the best reasons to hope that it will receive the assent of the Legislature. This bill will enable the archbishops and bishops to give episcopal consecration to the persons who shall be recommended, without requiring from them any oaths or subscriptions inconsistent with the situation in which the late Revolution has placed them; upon condition that the full satisfaction of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, which you offer to us in your address, be given to the archbishops and bishops. You will doubtless receive it as a mark both of our friendly disposition toward you, and of our desire to avoid all delay on this occasion, that we have taken this earliest opportunity of conveying to you this intelligence, and that we proceed (as supposing ourselves invested with that power which for

your sakes we have requested) to state to you particularly the several heads, upon which that satisfaction which you offer will be accepted, and the mode in which it may be given. The anxiety which is shewn by the Church of England to prevent the intrusion of unqualified persons into even the inferior offices of our ministry, confirms our own sentiments, and points it out to be our duty very earnestly to require the most decisive proofs of the qualifications of those who may be offered for admission to that order, to which the superintendence of those offices is committed. At our several ordinations of a deacon and a priest, the candidate submits himself to the examination of the bishop as to his proficiency in learning ; he gives the proper security of his soundness in the Faith by the subscriptions which are made previously necessary ; he is required to bring testimonials of his virtuous conversation during the three preceding years ; and that no mode of inquiry may be omitted, public notice of his offering himself to be ordained is given in the parish church where he resides or ministers, and the people are solemnly called upon to declare if they know any impediment for which he ought not to be admitted. At the time of ordination, too, the same solemn call is made on the congregation then present.

“ Examination, subscription, and testimonials are not indeed repeated at the consecration of an English bishop ; because the person to be consecrated has added to the securities given at his former ordinations, that sanction which arises from his having constantly lived and exercised his ministry under the eyes and observa-



tion of his country. But the objects of our present consideration are very differently circumstanced; their sufficiency in learning, the soundness of their faith, and the purity of their manners, are not matters of notoriety here: means therefore must be found to satisfy the archbishop who consecrates, and the bishops who present them, that, in the words of our Church, ‘They be apt and meet for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their ministry duly to the honour of God and the edifying of his Church, and to be wholesome examples and patterns to the flock of Christ.’

“With regard to the first qualification, sufficiency in good learning, we apprehend that the subjecting a person, who is to be admitted to the office of a Bishop in the Church, to that examination which is required previous to the ordination of priests and deacons, might lessen that reverend estimation which ought never to be separated from the episcopal character: we therefore do not require any farther satisfaction on this point, than will be given to us by the forms of testimonials in the annexed paper; fully trusting that those who sign them will be well aware, how greatly incompetence in this respect must lessen the weight and authority of the bishop and affect the credit of the Episcopal Church.

“Under the second head, that of Subscription, our desire is to require that subscription only to be repeated, which you have already been called upon to make by the tenth article of your Ecclesiastical Constitution: but we should forget the duty which we owe to our own Church, and act inconsistently with that sincere regard which we bear to yours, if we were not explicit in declaring, that,

after the disposition we have shewn to comply with the prayer of your address, we think it now incumbent upon you to use your utmost exertions also for the removal of any stumbling-block of offence, which may possibly prove an obstacle to the success of it. We therefore most earnestly exhort you, that previously to the time of your making such subscription, you restore to its integrity the Apostles' Creed, in which you have omitted an article, merely, as it seems, from misapprehension of the sense in which it is understood by our Church: nor can we help adding, that we hope you will think it but a decent proof of the attachment which you profess to the services of your Liturgy, to give to the other two creeds a place in your Book of Common Prayer, even though the use of them should be left discretionary. We should be inexcusable too, if at the time when you are requesting the establishment of bishops in your Church, we did not strongly represent to you that the eighth article of your Ecclesiastical Constitution appears to us to be a degradation of the clerical, and still more of the episcopal character. We persuade ourselves, that in your ensuing Convention some alteration will be thought necessary in this article, before this reaches you; or, if not, that due attention will be given to it in consequence of our representation.

“On the third and last head, which respects purity of manners, the reputation of the Church, both in England and America, and the interest of our common Christianity, are so deeply concerned in it, that we feel it our indispensable duty to provide, on this subject, the most effectual securities. It is presumed, that the same

previous public notice of the intention of the person to be consecrated will be given in the Church where he resides in America, for the same reasons, and therefore nearly in the same form, with that used in England before our ordinations. The call upon the persons present at the time of consecration must be deemed of little use before a congregation composed of those to whom the person to be consecrated is unknown. The testimonials signed by persons living in England admit of reference and examination; and the characters of those who give them are subject to scrutiny, and, in cases of criminal deceit, to punishment. In proportion as these circumstances are less applicable to testimonials from America, those testimonials must be more explicit, and supported by a greater number of signatures. We therefore think it necessary that the several persons, candidates for episcopal consecration, should bring to us both a testimonial from the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, with as many signatures as can be obtained, and a more particular one from the respective Conventions in those States which recommend them. It will appear from the tenor of the letters-testimonial used in England, a form of which is annexed, that the ministers who sign them bear testimony to the qualifications of the candidates on their own personal knowledge. Such a testimony is not to be expected from the members of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in America on this occasion. We think it sufficient therefore, that they declare they know no impediment, but believe the person to be consecrated is of a virtuous life and sound faith. We have sent you such a form as appears to us proper to be used for that

purpose. More specific declarations must be made by the members of the Convention in each State from which the persons offered for consecration are respectively recommended: their personal knowledge of them there can be no doubt of: we trust therefore they will have no objection to the adoption of the form of a testimonial which is annexed and drawn up on the same principles, and containing the same attestations of personal knowledge with that above mentioned, as required previously to our ordinations: we trust we shall receive these testimonials signed by such a majority in each Convention that recommend, as to leave no doubt of the fitness of the candidates upon the minds of those whose consciences are concerned in the consecration of them.

“ Thus much we have thought it right to communicate to you without reserve at present, intending to give you farther information as soon as we are able: in the meantime, we pray God to direct your counsels in this very weighty matter, and are, Mr. President and Gentlemen,

“ Your affectionate Brethren,

“ J. CANTUAR,

“ W. EBOR.”

The Forms and Act of Parliament were duly forwarded to America. Upon the report of a Committee, the question was put, Whether the “ He descended into hell” should or should not be restored; and it was restored. Three out of the five States, then represented in Convention, divided, so as not to give a vote either way; and two voted for its restoration. All five States voted unanimously for the restoration of the Nicene Creed.

Upon the Athanasian Creed, two of the States were divided, so as not to give any vote ; and the three other States voted against its restoration unanimously. Twenty individuals altogether voted : seventeen against the creed, and three for it. pp. 41, 42.

And an answer was sent to the archbishops.

The Convocation met next in July 1789 : and then two American bishops (White and Provoost) had been consecrated in England, and one (Bp. Seabury) in Scotland. The Convention adjourned ; and met again in September 1789.

The Convention was now divided into two Houses : and from this time the Journals of both Houses are kept separate. The Canons and Constitutions of the Church were accordingly varied.

The Convention met again in September 1792, being the sixth in number ; and passed the following Resolution, p. 131—

“ Resolved, That a Committee be appointed by the General Convention for the purpose of publishing the Book of Common Prayer, and securing the copy-right to them and their assigns, in trust for the Convention ; and that this Committee be empowered and directed to convey a right to print the book to any printer or printers in any of the States, who may be recommended for that purpose by the State Convention, or their standing Committee, free from any premium for copy-right ; such State Convention or standing Committee to superintend, and correct the press according to the standard book.”

At the seventh Convention, June 1799, in the House

of Clerical and LayDeputies, the chairman of a Committee reported, June 14, "That the articles of our faith and religion, as founded on the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, are sufficiently declared in our creeds and liturgy, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer established for the use of this Church; and that further articles do not appear necessary."

"This Resolution was disagreed to by the House."

On the 15th June, a Resolution was proposed, p. 165, "That the Convention now proceed to the framing of articles of religion for this Church.

"The question was taken by Yeas and Nays, as follows :

CLERGY.

Massachusetts—No.  
Connecticut—Yea.  
Rhode Island—Yea.  
New York—Yea.  
New Jersey—Yea.  
Pennsylvania—No.  
Delaware—Yea.  
Virginia—No.

LAITY.

Connecticut—Yea.  
New Jersey—Yea.  
Pennsylvania—Yea.  
Virginia—No.

"So it was carried in the affirmative."

The proposed Articles of Religion are given on p. 168, as entered in the Journals of the Lower House.

In the Appendix to the Convention of 1801, the ninth Convention in number, is given the following—

"RESOLUTION of the Bishops, the Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in Convention, in the City of

Trenton, the 12th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1801, respecting Articles of Religion.

“The Articles of Religion are hereby ordered to be set forth, with the following directions to be observed in all future editions of the same ; that is to say—

“The following to be the title ; viz.

“ ‘ Articles of Religion, as established by the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in Convention, on the 12th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1801.’

“The Articles to stand as in the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, with the following alterations and omissions ; viz.

“In the 8th article, the word ‘three’ in the title, and the words ‘three—Athanasius’s Creed,’ in the article, to be omitted ; and the article to read thus :

“ART. 8. Of the Creeds.

“ ‘ The Nicene Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles’ Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed ; for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy scripture.’

“Under the title, ‘Article 21,’ the following note to be inserted ; viz.

“ ‘ The 21st of the former articles is omitted, because it is partly of a local and civil nature, and is provided for, as to the remaining parts of it, in other articles.’

“The 35th article to be inserted, with the following note ; viz.

“ ‘ This article is received in this Church, so far as it declares the books of Homilies to be an explication of

Christian doctrine, and instructive in piety and morals. But all references to the Constitution and laws of England are considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of this Church; which also suspends the order for the reading of said homilies in churches, until a revision of them may conveniently be made, for the clearing of them, as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references.'

"The 36th article, entitled, 'Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers,' to read thus:

" 'The Book of Consecration of Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, as set forth by the General Convention of this Church in 1792, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it any thing that, of itself, is superstitious and ungodly: and, therefore, whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.'

"The 37th article to be omitted, and the following substituted in its place:

" 'Of the Power of the Civil Magistrate.

" 'The power of the civil magistrate extendeth to all men, as well clergy as laity, in all things temporal, but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted.'

"Adopted by the House of Bishops.

"WILLIAM WHITE, D.D. Presiding Bishop.

"Adopted by the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies.

"ABRAHAM BEACH, D.D. President."



The eleventh Convention, held in May 1808, passed two Resolutions, in these words: p. 254.

“ 1. Resolved, That the ministers of this Church ought not to perform the Funeral Service, in the case of any person who shall give or accept a challenge to a duel.

“ 2. Resolved, That it is the sense of this Church, that it is inconsistent with a law of God, and the ministers of this Church therefore shall not unite in matrimony any person who is divorced, unless it be on account of the other party having been guilty of adultery.”

The thirteenth Convention, held in 1814, printed, at the end of its proceedings, the then

#### CONSTITUTION AND CANONS OF THE CHURCH :

“ Art. 1. There shall be a General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America on the third Tuesday in May, in the year of our Lord 1808, and on the third Tuesday in May in every third year afterwards, in such place as shall be determined by the Convention; and special meetings may be called at other times, in the manner hereafter to be provided for: and this Church, in a majority of the States which shall have adopted this Constitution, shall be represented, before they shall proceed to business; except that the representation from two States shall be sufficient to adjourn; and in all business of the Convention, freedom of debate shall be allowed.

“ Art. 2. The Church in each State shall be entitled to a representation of both the clergy and the laity; which representation shall consist of one or more deputies, not exceeding four of each order, chosen by the Convention of the State; and in all questions, when required by the

Clerical and Lay Representation from any State, each order shall have one vote; and the majority of suffrages by States shall be conclusive in each order, provided such majority comprehend a majority of the States represented in that order: The concurrence of both orders shall be necessary to constitute a vote of the Convention. If the Convention of any State should neglect or decline to appoint clerical deputies, or if they should neglect or decline to appoint lay deputies; or if any of those of either order appointed should neglect to attend, or be prevented by sickness or any other accident, such State shall, nevertheless, be considered as duly represented by such deputy or deputies as may attend, whether lay or clerical. And if, through the neglect of the Convention of any of the Churches which shall have adopted or may hereafter adopt this Constitution, no deputies, either lay or clerical, should attend at any General Convention, the Church in such State shall, nevertheless, be bound by the acts of such Convention.

“ Art. 3. The bishops of this Church, when there shall be three or more, shall, whenever General Conventions are held, form a separate House, with a right to originate and propose acts, for the concurrence of the House of Deputies, composed of clergy and laity: and when any proposed act shall have passed the House of Deputies, the same shall be transmitted to the House of Bishops, who shall have a negative thereupon; and all acts of the Convention shall be authenticated by both Houses. And, in all cases, the House of Bishops shall signify to the Convention their approbation or disap-

probation (the latter, with their reasons in writing) within three days after the proposed act shall have been reported to them for concurrence; and, in failure thereof, it shall have the operation of a law. But until there shall be three or more bishops, as aforesaid, any bishop attending a General Convention shall be a member *ex officio*, and shall vote with the clerical deputies of the State to which he belongs; and a bishop shall then preside.

“ Art. 4. The bishop or bishops in every State shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the Convention of that State: and every bishop of this Church shall confine the exercise of his episcopal office to his proper diocese or district; unless requested to ordain, or confirm, or perform any other act of the episcopal office, by any Church destitute of a bishop.

“ Art. 5. A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States, not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted, on acceding to this Constitution.

“ Art. 6. In every State, the mode of trying clergymen shall be instituted by the Convention of the Church therein. At every trial of a bishop, there shall be one or more of the Episcopal order present; and none but a bishop shall pronounce sentence of deposition or degradation from the ministry, on any clergyman, whether bishop, or presbyter, or deacon.

“ Art. 7. No person shall be admitted to holy Orders until he shall have been examined by the bishop and by two presbyters, and shall have exhibited such testimonials, and other requisites, as the Canons in that case

provided may direct: nor shall any person be ordained, until he shall have subscribed the following declaration: ‘ I do believe the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation: And I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States.’ No person ordained by a foreign bishop shall be permitted to officiate as a minister of this Church, until he shall have complied with the Canon or Canons in that case provided, and have also subscribed the aforesaid declaration.

“ Art. 8. A Book of Common Prayer, administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, articles of religion, and a form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, when established by this or a future General Convention, shall be used in the Protestant Episcopal Church in those States which shall have adopted this Constitution.

“ No alteration or addition shall be made in the Book of Common Prayer, or other Offices in the Church, unless the same shall be proposed in one General Convention, and by a resolve thereof made known to the Convention of every Diocese or State, and adopted at the subsequent General Convention.

“ Art. 9. This Constitution shall be unalterable, unless in General Convention, by the Church, in a majority of the States which may have adopted the same; and all alterations shall be first proposed in one General Convention, and made known to the several State

Conventions, before they shall be finally agreed to, or ratified, in the ensuing General Convention.

“ Done in the General Convention of the Bishops, Clergy,  
and Laity of the Church, the second day of October 1789.

“ The 1st article was amended in General Convention, 1804.

“ The 3d article was amended in General Convention, 1808.

“ The second paragraph of the 8th article was added in General Convention, 1811.”

And of the Canons, the following is a Table :

“ CANONS OF 1808.

- “ 1. Of the Orders of Ministers in this Church.
- “ 2. Of the Election of Bishops.
- “ 3. Certificates to be produced on the part of Bishops elect.
- “ 4. Of Standing Committees.
- “ 5. Of the Consecration of Bishops in the Recess of the General Convention.
- “ 6. Of the Age of those who are to be ordained or consecrated.
- “ 7. Of Candidates for Orders.
- “ 8. Of the Conduct required in Candidates for Orders.
- “ 9. Of the Learning of those who are to be ordained.
- “ 10. Of the Preparatory Exercises of a Candidate for Deacon's Orders.
- “ 11. Of the Preparatory Exercises of a Candidate for Priest's Orders.
- “ 12. Of the Testimonials to be produced on the part of those who are to be ordained.
- “ 13. Of the Titles of those who are to be ordained.

- “ 14. Of Candidates coming from Places within the United States in which the Constitution of this Church has not been acceded to.
- “ 15. Of the Times of Ordination.
- “ 16. Of Candidates who may be refused Orders.
- “ 17. Of those who have officiated as Ministers among other Denominations of Christians, and apply for Orders in this Church.
- “ 18. Of Clergymen ordained for Foreign Parts.
- “ 19. Respecting Candidates for Orders who are Lay Readers.
- “ 20. Of Episcopal Visitation.
- “ 21. Of the Duty of Ministers in regard to Episcopal Visitations.
- “ 22. Of Parochial Instruction.
- “ 23. Of Episcopal Charges and Pastoral Letters.
- “ 24. Of a Council of Advice.
- “ 25. Notorious Crimes and Scandals to be censured.
- “ 26. Sober Conversation required in Ministers.
- “ 27. Of publishing the Sentence of Degradation against a Clergyman.
- “ 28. Of a Clergyman in any Diocese chargeable with Misdemeanor in any other.
- “ 29. Concerning the Election and Institution of Ministers into Parishes or Churches.
- “ 30. Respecting the Dissolution of all Pastoral Connection between Ministers and their Congregations.
- “ 31. Concerning Ministers removing from one Diocese or State to another.
- “ 32. Respecting Differences between Ministers and their Congregations.

- “ 33. Of the officiating of Ministers of this Church, in the Churches, or within the Parochial Cures of other Clergymen.
- “ 34. Of the Use of the Book of Common Prayer.
- “ 35. Of the officiating of Persons not Ministers of this Church.
- “ 36. Of Clergymen ordained by Foreign Bishops, and desirous of officiating or settling in this Church.
- “ 37. To prevent a Congregation in any Diocese or State from uniting with a Church in any other Diocese or State.
- “ 38. To empower the Bishop in each Diocese or District to compose Forms of Prayer or Thanksgiving for Extraordinary Occasions.
- “ 39. Of the due Celebration of Sundays.
- “ 40. Ministers to keep a Register.
- “ 41. A List to be made, and published, of the Ministers of this Church.
- “ 42. Of the Mode of calling Special Meetings of the General Convention.
- “ 43. Prescribing the Mode of publishing Authorised Editions of the Book of Common Prayer, &c.
- “ 44. Concerning the Mode of transmitting Notice of all Matters submitted by the General Convention to the Consideration of the State or Diocesan Conventions.
- “ 45. Providing for an accurate View of the State of the Church from time to time.
- “ 46. Providing for making known the Constitution and Canons of the Church.

“CANON OF 1811.

“Canon repealing the 46th Canon of 1808.

“CANONS OF 1814.

“1. Concerning the Alms and Contributions at the Holy Communion.

“2. Altering and explaining the 29th Canon, concerning the Election and Institution of Ministers.

“3. Repealing part of the 45th Canon of 1808.”

There had been made a proposal to take into consideration the propriety of a standard edition of the Bible, in consequence of some editions having corruptly rendered Acts vi. 3. in such a way as tended to sustain a species of Ordination unknown in Scripture: p. 53. Journal of 1820: but any English Bible printed under the King's Patent was held trustworthy. Afterwards Eyre and Strahan's edition of 1812, dated 1813 on the title, was chosen, Journal of 1823, p. 54, and Appendix No. v. p. 101; and a Canon was at the same time passed prescribing the mode of publication: p. 67: also a Canon was passed in 1821, p. 54 Journal, for establishing a standard book of the Common Prayer: Journal for 1821, p. 16, and Report, p. 39. At the close of the Convention in 1821, after prayers, Bp. White, the presiding bishop, addressed the members in the following words:

“Brethren of this Convention,

“I take the liberty of giving vent to the feeling which possesses me, at the conclusion of our session.

“I have attended all the meetings of the General Conventions, from the beginning of our organization. On some of those occasions, we assembled with apprehen-



sions in the minds of many judicious men who had the interests of the Church at heart, that the deliberations would be disturbed by angry passions, and end in disunion. In every instance, the reverse was the issue : which led me to hope, that there was in this matter a verifying of the promise of the great Head of the Church, of being with her to the end of the world.

“ The reason of this call of your attention to the fact stated, is the harmony with which we are concluding the present session ; after having met with diversity of sentiment on some important points ; on which, in consequence of mutual concession, and the merging of local attachments in the great object of general good, we are now separating with confirmed zeal for the great cause in which we are engaged ; to be followed, it is to be hoped, by renewed endeavours for its advancement, each of us in his proper sphere.

“ With this prospect before me, I invite you to lift your hearts and your voices, in singing to the praise and glory of God, a psalm appropriate to the occasion.

“ The members of both Houses then united in singing the 133d Psalm : after which, the benediction was pronounced, and the house adjourned.” p. 18.

The remainder of this Chapter will state all the variations from our own Prayer Book that have been noticed in the American Prayer, upon reading it carefully ; with some of the other changes that have been suggested as likely to reconcile many to our Service, and bring them into their parish churches. The present purpose is, to supply for consideration some matters which may tend

to determine whether any Commission of Inquiry be or be not now desirable with respect to the Prayer Book : and, if it be, to shew some of the particulars which might form a part of the inquiry before the Commissioners.

The Psalms might be revised : and a metrical version of some parts of them might be published by Authority, for singing. The American Church has set out Ten Selections from the Psalms, with a Rubric, that, instead of reading from the Psalter, divided like our own into thirty-one days, the portion for any one day, the Minister may read on that day any one of the selections there set out. The first of these selections contains the 19th and 24th and 103d psalms. The second selection contains the 139th psalm, leaving out verses 19 to 22 ; and the 145th psalm. The third contains the 51st psalm, leaving out the 18th and 19th verses ; and the 42d psalm, leaving out the 8th, 9th, and 12th verses. The fourth contains the 37th psalm. The fifth contains the 1st psalm, the 15th psalm, and the 91st psalm. The sixth selection contains the 32d psalm, leaving out the 3d, 4th, and 10th verses ; the 130th psalm, and the 121st psalm. The seventh selection contains the 23d psalm, the 34th psalm, and the 65th psalm. The eighth selection contains the 84th psalm, leaving out the 9th verse ; the 85th psalm, the 93d psalm, and the 97th psalm. The ninth selection contains the 8th psalm ; the 33d psalm, leaving out verses 10 to 21 ; the 147th psalm, leaving out the 10th verse ; and the 57th psalm, leaving out verses 1 to 7. The tenth selection contains the 96th psalm, leaving out verses 5 to 13 ; the 148th psalm ; the 149th psalm, leaving out

verses 5 to 9; and the 150th psalm. There are also appointed portions of Psalms for Christmas Day, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday, for Morning Prayer, instead of the 'Venite Exultemus': and any of the foregoing selections may be used for those days, instead of the Proper Psalms appointed for them. The Proper Psalms for Good Friday Evening are the 64th and 88th: for Ascension Day, in the evening, the 103d is substituted for the 108th: in other respects, the Psalms for the five days mentioned above, and for Easter Day, are the same as our own.

The American Prayer adds to the Sentences at the beginning of Morning Prayer, Hab. ii. 20. Mal. i. 11. and Ps. xix. 14.

The American Prayer styles the 'Absolution' "The Declaration of Absolution, or Remission of Sins, to be made &c."; and changes here, as elsewhere, "them" and "which" into "those" and "who;" and the first sentence leaves out the word "and," after "live." This 'Absolution' might perhaps be changed more into the form of a prayer: and apparently under this notion the American Prayer subjoins to the 'Absolution' the Absolution from the Communion Service, either of which may be used at the will of the Minister, and are read by him "alone."

Instead of the last four verses of the 95th psalm, the American Prayer Book substitutes two others.

The 'Gloria Patri' may be said, as in our Service; but either it or the 'Gloria in Excelsis' must be said at the end of the whole quantity of psalms read.

The American Prayer does not strike out the 'Benedicite;' but does strike out all after the fourth verse from

the 'Benedictus,' and all the 100th psalm. It would be a great relief to clergymen, and a great addition to the Service, if there were more congregational singing. A Selection of Psalms and Hymns might now easily be made: one of those hymns, instead of 'Te Deum' as now sung, or a metrical version of the 'Te Deum,' might be sung, at the discretion of the Minister officiating; and the same choice might be given before the First Lesson as to the 95th psalm, and after the Second Lesson as to the 100th psalm, and in the Afternoon Service.

The next rubric is, "Then shall be said the Apostles' Creed, by the Minister and the people, standing: and any churches may omit the words, 'He descended into Hell;' or may, instead of them, use the words, 'He went into the place of departed spirits,' which are considered as words of the same meaning in the Creed:" or the Nicene Creed. The Creed is immediately followed by the following sentences, and not any more:

"MIN. The Lord be with you;

"ANS. And with thy Spirit.

"MIN. Let us pray.

"O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us;

"ANS. And grant us thy salvation.

"MIN. O God, make clean our hearts within us;

"ANS. And take not thy Holy Spirit from us."

Then follow the Collect for the Day, when the Communion Service is not read; the "Collect for Peace;" the "Collect for Grace," somewhat altered; and "a Prayer for the President of the United States," as such, without naming the individual. Then comes this rubric:

“The following Prayers are to be omitted here, when the Litany is to be read.” The first of these prayers is, the ‘Prayer for the Clergy;’ “who alone worketh great marvels” being changed into “from whom cometh every good and perfect gift.” The second is the ‘Prayer for all conditions of men;’ changing “the good estate of the Catholic Church” into “Thy holy Church universal.” The ‘General Thanksgiving,’ the ‘Prayer of St. Chrysostom,’ and the Apostolical Benediction, conclude the Morning Service.

The Evening Prayer is changed according to the Morning Prayer. The ‘Magnificat’ and ‘Nunc Dimittis’ are left out; and the first four and last three verses of the 103d psalm are put together, to be sung instead of the 67th psalm, at the will of the Minister. The beginning of the third Collect is made into “O Lord, our heavenly Father, by whose Almighty power we have been preserved this day.” The Prayers ‘for the President,’ the ‘Clergy, and People,’ and ‘All conditions of men,’ the ‘General Thanksgiving,’ St. Chrysostom,’ and the Benediction, conclude the Service.

The Athanasian Creed is “that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity . . . so that in all things, the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity, is to be worshipped.” If such a question may be permitted, ought not this statement to be reduced into clearer language? as, now, it seems to prohibit the worship of any one of the three Persons, as distinct from the other two: yet this is prescribed by our Liturgy, in more instances than at the commencement of the Litany. The Creed appears to mean, that in praying to One, we pray to all

Three; and in praying to Three, we pray to One. That it is not quite as clear as it might be, seems deducible from a variation in the Doxology, very observable in some of our prelates. There are those who say, "Now to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," in strict accordance with the Creed; and those who say, "Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." That is not an argument, but a sophism, which is addressed to the modesty of those who propose the disuse of this creed, and deceitfully tries to bring that modesty into culpable action: and the very fact of our being baptized into the Apostles' Creed denies any necessity for the Athanasian Creed, except as part of our Established Service. But is there any spiritual meaning or force about the word 'Establishment'? In England, at all events, it cannot mean more than what the Bible says, or what men do towards enforcing and explaining the Bible. This creed may therefore be disused, as only part of what men do for a given purpose, when that purpose is not either answered or answerable.

It has been proposed to displace, by one general petition, the first four clauses in our Litany. The American Litany differs from ours in the particulars now noticed. The eighth clause begins "From all inordinate and sinful affections;" a change for which it is not easy to find any other reason than a questionable delicacy. All sin is deadly, in the same sense in which fornication is deadly: 'other' must not be misconstrued: the connexion disproves the charge which has been brought against the epithet "deadly." After "sudden death," in the ninth clause, might be added, "in presumptuous sin."

If the form of Adjuration be retained, it should rather be by our own helpless state : and the substance of the 11th and 12th clauses might be wrought out into eight clauses or more, each of them pressing the strong application to our own hearts of the truth which it contained : e.g. The coming in the flesh, as connected with the admission of prophecy ; and the Influence of the Holy Ghost : the Nativity, as humility : the Circumcision, as compliance with the Law : the Temptation, as warnings against the sources from which Satan is daily seducing the souls of men. In the American Prayer, the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 20th clauses are left out : in the 13th clause, “ prosperity ” is put for “ wealth.” The 21st clause is extended to “ all Christian rulers and magistrates : ” in the 21st clause “ fear ” is put for “ dread : ” in the 29th clause “ labouring of child ” is reduced to “ in the perils of child-birth.” The Americans, in the two sentences after the Lord’s Prayer, put “ according ” for “ after : ” and “ punish ” might be better than “ reward.”

In the next prayer, the Americans read, “ . . . worketh against us may, by Thy good providence, be brought to nought ; that we, Thy servants,” &c.

In the next sentences, the Americans read “ with pity ” for “ pitifully ; ” and in the next prayer, “ justly ” for “ righteously.” Then comes the ‘ General Thanksgiving ; ’ and the Litany concludes with ‘ St. Chrysostom ’ and the Benediction.

In the Prayers and Thanksgivings, the Americans begin with a ‘ Prayer for Congress,’ substantially the same as ours ‘ for Parliament : ’ then the prayer ‘ for Rain.’

The third prayer, 'for Fair Weather,' is changed; and the fourth prayer, 'In Time of Dearth and Famine,' is also somewhat changed for the better: our second prayer 'In Time of Dearth and Famine' is left out. The Americans then give the prayer 'In Time of War and Tumults,' leaving out "King of all kings," and putting, instead, "supreme:" then the two prayers for those 'who are to be admitted into holy Orders.' Our prayer 'in Plague or Sickness' is put out, and another put in its stead. Then come prayers 'for a Sick Person;' 'for a Sick Child;' 'for Persons going to Sea;' 'for Persons under Affliction;' and 'for Malefactors after Condemnation.' The Thanksgivings are, the last in our 'Churching of Women;' 'for Rain;' 'for Fair Weather,' substituting "visitation" for "plague;" 'for Plenty,' leaving out "cheapness;" 'for Peace and Deliverance;' 'for Restoring Peace;' our first 'for Deliverance from Sickness;' 'for a Recovery from Sickness;' and 'for a Safe Return from Sea.'

The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, in the American Prayer, are the same as ours; except that, in addition to the Collect on Ash Wednesday, the three last prayers in our Communion Service are then read; and the Communion Service put out of the book. In the second prayer, the word "hatest" is retained; and in the third, the sentence "who turn to Thee in weeping, fasting, and praying." The Americans have put all the Holidays together, after all the Sundays.

With regard to the Epistles and Gospels, it has often been observed what excellent passages of Scripture they enforce upon the congregation; and it has



also been said, they might be better distributed. Any changes in the Lessons, and some changes in the Communion Service, would require changes here. It will have been seen that the Collects were much considered and altered, and many new ones made in the Jerusalem Chamber: and it is not here necessary to dwell much upon them.

In general, it should always be declared, with indisputable clearness, what each Collect means: every prayer should be unambiguous: and the form of address and preface at the beginning should in some degree be fitted to the substance of the request. A short Collect need not be made up of decidedly distinct petitions for distinct graces.

As an instance, once for all, that some change should be made, and that such change would often be useful to the mass of every congregation, it seems right to hazard a few remarks concerning the ‘Collect for Peace.’

The Collect for Peace, in Morning Prayer, might be so entitled as to express inward peace, peace of heart, as opposed to the *φρόνημα σαρκός*. After the words “perfect freedom,” a definite petition for such peace, even if really negative, and justly considered as being so, might be introduced; and, if advisable, a definite petition for peace, as opposed to bloodshed and wars, might be added.

In support of this suggestion, the following observations and comment are submitted to the reader with unfeigned diffidence, as being called for in absolute fairness from those who venture to propose any change.

The Notes in Bp. Mant’s edition of the Prayer Book

do not contain any definite declaration about the peace here prayed for. As there cited, Dean Comber seems to think it outward peace: Bp. Sparrow is doubtful: and Abp. Secker appears to consider the sentence in the preface as alluding to inward peace, and yet that the prayer is against outward enemies. It cannot be thought inapplicable to quote from Baxter the exceptions he drew up against this Collect. Silvester, p. 308. No. 9. "The second Collect is entitled, 'for Peace,' and hath not a word in it of petition for peace; but only for defence in assaults of enemies, and that we may not fear their power: and the prefaces, 'in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, and in whose service is perfect freedom,' have no more evident respect to a petition for peace than to any other. And the prayer itself comes in disorderly; while many prayers or petitions are omitted, which, according both to the method of the Lord's Prayer and the nature of the things, should go before."

By comparing this Collect with the second Collect at Evening Prayer, it would seem that this Morning Collect was intended for peace of heart, Christian obedience, and resignation, "that peace which the world cannot give," a peace which is not consistent with unholy desires and evil counsels, which can only be found in what are termed, with strict propriety, but not in common language, "just works." The American Prayer Book leaves out the word "both;" and reads, "that our hearts may be set to obey thy commandments; and also that by Thee, we, being defended from the fear of our enemies, may pass our time in rest and quietness."

In the Morning Collect the same prevailing tone appears distinguishable. The God of love is undoubtedly the Author of peace, as opposed to war; but is more especially the Author of peace, as opposed to those inward fightings and distractions which are inseparable from the unregenerate heart, and divide it against itself and its neighbour, and fill it with an almost proverbial discontent and caprice. It is the Author of peace that can alone make men of one mind in a house; so that "the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted, but the rich in that he is made low." The sole Author of peace can indeed make men of one heart and of one soul, all "brethren, baptized by one Spirit into one body," "one in Christ Jesus," "kept and perfected in one, even as the Father and Son are one." And this concord is produced when men die unto sin, and live by a new Spirit out of themselves, and make their own the will of Heaven, and so renounce their own will, and endeavour earnestly to bring nigh the Kingdom of Heaven. Such a concord our God is said to love: and it betokens happiness to His creatures, and brings them more and more to the knowledge of Him, "Whom to know is eternal life." One sign of this concord in individuals, one beginning of it, is peace of heart on earth; a peace which cannot be had until the Spirit of God has wrought in us a belief in the goodness and mercy of God, and broken the chains of sin, and made us a new nature, in which men rejoice to serve Him who was tempted as we are, yet sinned not; who can see us sunk in sin, and yet love and pity us; who could for our sake become flesh, and in the form of a servant obedient even unto

the death of the cross ; who would now fit each of us for His glad service, so we quench not His spirit. In such service is “ perfect freedom,” and in none other. In that service we know what enemies will assault us : and it is written for our learning, how the word of God pulled down the strong holds of the great Enemy, in the wilderness, on the high mountain, and on the pinnacle of the Temple. As temptations will come upon us, in order that our peace be not destroyed by such temptations, we pray to the Author of peace for defence ; and that our trust may be in His daily grant of our daily help, in that defence which He vouchsafes his people, not in our own wisdom and prudence, not in the strength of our hands or in our valour, not in the multitude of our chariots, not in any arm of flesh. It is only so that men are and can be freed from the fear of all adversaries ; as well knowing that He who is with them, is greater than he who is in the world against them.

If the first of these constructions be true, the other is mistaken in considering the Collect as praying for inward peace only : if the second of these constructions be admitted, they are mistaken who apply it to outward peace only. The Compilers of our Liturgy might be looking to both kinds of peace. In Poetry, such bringing up of many ideas by a hint, each crowd of ideas marshalled on its own ground, is excellent ; but ought not in Prayers to be carried so far as to leave any ambiguity. The burning sparks that are shivered off, hot and fast and bright, may light up a thousand well-remembered scenes, as the honest speaker presses on

each momentary illumination may turn towards that goal wanderers, who would not have been guided by a dimmer, yet a constant and truly borrowed light: but the danger is always great; and the notion altogether inconsistent with Prayer. The similar notes in one tune that accidentally recall the memory of another, are too often destructive of the present melody, distract the attention, and ultimately carry it away with them.

In the Communion Service, the Americans leave out our first rubric, and change the expressions in the second, third, and fourth. It may be well to consider how far the Commandments should be preceded by some declaration, in the words of Deut. vi., when and how and to whom they were given. Edward the Sixth's Catechism furnishes other useful matter for this declaration, and concludes its summary with the texts which the American Prayer Book has introduced after the Commandments: "Then the Minister may say, Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." St. Matthew xxii. 37—40. The last response in our Prayer Book might here be sung, and the previous responses be left out.

The Americans next give the prayer, second, in our Prayer Book, among the Collects after the Offertory: and direct the Apostles' or Nicene Creed to be read, unless one of them have been read before, in the Morning

Service. This rubric seems to imply that some such a practice as the early Communion Service still retained in some London churches exists in America; but the implication is contradicted in the *Journal of the Convention* 1821, p. 49.

Upon the use of creeds a little more must here be said. When creeds become defences and vindications of the orthodox faith, Bp. Gastrell explains how they also produce more heresies. A great and perhaps the principal use of what are called creeds is, that, like anchors, they strengthen and establish the position of any particular Church, and its relative bearing upon other Churches: without being moored in some such way, the vessel might imperceptibly swing round with the shifting tides of error; and they who believed themselves Presbyterians might suddenly find themselves open to the charge of Socinianism. As far as the Public Service goes, either the Nicene Creed or the Apostles' Creed would be enough to maintain the professed belief of the Church of England. We need not drop a longer line than will shew water enough to prevent the vessel striking any suspected rock; and the reading of some formula for this purpose may well seem to many so highly advisable as to overrule the admitted objections to reading it, although those objections are of such a nature that they cannot be reduced to a common denomination and actually measured one against another. The utility of a professed formula is evident, from the present state of Unitarian congregations: and the question may so become, when and how the form of words adopted as expressing the doctrine of any Church

should be used. The epithet "Catholic" is rendered "Universal" in the Apostles' Creed, as cited in Edward the Sixth's Catechism; and the explanation of the Holy Universal Church, p. 23, as there given, is admirable, and in the spirit of that excellent Prayer "for Unity," upon the anniversary of the King's Accession. Using the words "of faith" in their common acceptation, it appears to many that all creeds and articles of faith are mistaken in their principle, and would work much more evil than they do, but that, among other reasons, they are in practice corrected by that common sense which is the perfection of human understanding. If articles of faith ought to be retained as distinct from articles of peace, might not something be taken from our Articles of Faith, now so called, and added to articles to be called and admitted as Articles of Peace? It is too true, that the Lower House of Convocation in 1701 censured Bp. Burnet's Exposition, because it allowed a diversity of opinion, Tindal's *Contin.* III. 319; but it may now appear the general belief, that acts of Parliament cannot create identity of opinion; that the Bible itself does not and was not intended to obviate all diversity of opinion; and that whatever be the definite good resulting from any Articles of Faith, commonly so called, there is one undeniable evil in every case: even where such articles are as few and material as possible, they lay a dangerous snare for human weakness.

The Prayer 'for the King' is displaced by a general Prayer 'for all Christian Rulers.' In the first warning, part or all of which may be used at the discretion of the minister, "condemnation" is put for "damnation;"

and the second clause ends with "or else come not to that holy table;" and the third, after "open his grief," leaves out the mention of "absolution." In the second warning, "injury ye do" is changed into "is your ingratitude." The exhortation in the second sentence runs thus: "For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament; so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren," &c. The prayer of 'Consecration' varies at the beginning in its expressions, and passes from "His coming again" to "In the night in which he was betrayed;" and then gives a new prayer, incorporating our prayer after the Lord's Prayer: then the Americans direct a hymn to be sung, and the bread and wine administered. The remainder of the Service is like our own: and there is not any thing in it more than in our own, to render the notion of the sacrament more correspondent with the admitted necessity for regular and suitable food.

The Americans give, in the Public Baptism of Infants, for their first rubric, the first and last sentences in our rubric. Their second rubric is, "There shall be for every male child to be baptized, when they can be had, two godfathers and one godmother; and for every female, one godfather and two godmothers: and parents shall be admitted as sponsors, if it be desired." The Americans give our first and second prayers, and direct the Minister to use either of them; and then give the following rubric: "Then the Minister shall say as follows: or else shall pass on to the questions addressed to the sponsors; and from thence to the prayer immediately



before the immersion, or the pouring of water on the infant. But note, that, in every church, the intermediate parts of the service shall be used, once at least in every month (if there be a baptism), for the better instructing of the people in the grounds of Infant Baptism." The Americans do not repeat the creed in the question, but ask, "Dost thou believe all the articles in the Christian faith contained in the Apostles' Creed?" To the answer, "I will," the Americans add, "By God's help." It may be remarked here, that it is a question, whether, in any case, the sponsors should be any thing more than witnesses: and among Baxter's Exceptions, as well as among the Exceptions actually delivered in at the Savoy, was a remonstrance against baptizing the infant children of atheists and notorious sinners until repentance; see Bp. Heber's opinion, 2. Jour. 238.; and it was desired that the first two interrogatories should be put to the parents, to be answered in their own names; and that the third should be, "Will you have this child to be baptized into this faith?" In his second Apology, Justin Martyr, when he is relating the manner of baptism, appears to use language applicable to adults only, not to infants: and if so, cannot fairly be quoted as negative authority against our custom of having sponsors for infants. p. 94.

In the Private Baptism, the Americans prescribe this declaration: "I certify you, that in this case all is well done, and according unto due order, concerning the baptizing of this child; who is now by baptism incorporated into the Christian Church: for our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny His grace and mercy unto such

infants ; but most lovingly doth call them unto Him, as the Holy Gospel doth witness to our comfort on this wise." St. Mark x. 13.

The remainder of the service is not materially different from our own; except that it leaves out the prayer immediately following the Lord's Prayer.

The Public Baptism of those of Riper Years, in answer to the first question, directs, "I renounce them all, and by God's help will endeavour not to follow nor be led by them."

In the American Catechism, "sponsors" is used instead of "godfathers and godmothers;" and instead of "verily and indeed taken and received," is put "spiritually taken and received." The Confirmation is like our own.

It is said that the Catechism of Justus Jonas, who died in October 1555, (Cox's Melancthon, p. 520,) was the original from which our present Catechism was taken; and that a copy of the first, or some very early edition of it, has lately come into the possession of the bishop of Oxford. This may be the book alluded to by Bp. Ridley, p. 154, note s, in Archdeacon Churton's Life of Dean Nowell. The archdeacon, sec. 7, implies, that the Catechism now printed in our Prayer Books was an abridgement of a larger one, and that from the same larger one Bp. Overall derived the substance of his additions concerning the sacraments. 186. The excellent Catechism of Edward the Sixth, (Strype's Life of Cranmer, Book 2. c. 34) printed in the "Enchiridion Theologicum," and Dean Nowell's Catechisms and the Formularies of Faith lately republished by the bishop of Oxford, are surely conclusive arguments for the set-

ting forth by Authority some fuller “Institution of a Christian man” than our present Catechism.

An Edition of the American Prayer Book, on stereotype plates, from their standard Edition, one set of which was sent out to America, will soon be published in England. In the mean time the following service for the Solemnization of Marriage is printed in full.

“Dearly beloved, we are gathered together here in the sight of God, and in the face of this company, to join together this man and this woman in holy matrimony; which is commended of St. Paul to be honourable among all men; and therefore is not by any to be entered into unadvisedly or lightly; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God. Into this holy estate, these two persons present come now to be joined. If any man can shew just cause, why they may not lawfully be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace.

“And also speaking unto the persons who are to be married, he shall say,

“I require and charge you both (as ye will answer at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed) that if either of you know any impediment why ye may not be lawfully joined together in matrimony, ye do now confess it: for be ye well assured, that if any persons are joined together otherwise than as God’s word doth allow, their marriage is not lawful.

“The Minister, if he shall have reason to doubt of the lawfulness of the proposed marriage, may demand sufficient surety for his indemnification; but if no

impediment shall be alleged, or suspected, the Minister shall say to the man,

“ M. Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after God’s ordinance in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou love her, comfort her, honour, and keep her, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all others, keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?

“ ‘The man shall answer, ‘ I will.’

“ Then shall the Minister say unto the woman,

“ N. Wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband, to live together after God’s ordinance, in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou obey him, and serve him, love, honour, and keep him, in sickness and in health; and, forsaking all others, keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?

“ ‘The woman shall answer, ‘ I will.’

“ Then shall the Minister say,

“ ‘Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?

“ Then shall they give their troth to each other, in this manner:

“ The Minister receiving the woman at her father’s or friend’s hands, shall cause the man with his right hand to take the woman by her right hand, and to say after him as followeth:

“ I M. take thee N. to my wedded wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love and to cherish, till death us do part, according to God’s holy ordinance; and thereto I plight thee my troth.

“ Then shall they loose their hands ; and the woman, with her right hand taking the man by his right hand, shall likewise say after the Minister,

“ I N. take thee M. to my wedded husband, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, cherish, and to obey, till death us do part, according to God’s holy ordinance ; and therefore I give thee my troth.

“ Then shall they again loose their hands ; and the man shall give unto the woman a ring. And the Minister taking the ring, shall deliver it unto the man, to put it upon the fourth finger of the woman’s left hand. And the man holding the ring there, and taught by the Minister, shall say,

“ With this ring I thee wed, and with all my worldly goods I thee endow : in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

“ Then the man leaving the ring upon the fourth finger of the woman’s left hand, the Minister shall say,

“ Let us pray.

“ Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name ; thy kingdom come ; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven ; give us this day our daily bread ; and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us ; and lead us not into temptation ; but deliver us from evil. Amen.

“ O Eternal God, Creator and Preserver of all mankind, giver of all spiritual grace, the author of everlasting life ; send thy blessing upon these thy servants, this man and this woman, whom we bless in thy name ; that

as Isaac and Rebecca lived faithfully together, so these persons may surely perform and keep the vow and covenant betwixt them made (whercof this ring given and received is a token and pledge), and may ever remain in perfect love and peace together, and live according to thy laws, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“ Then shall the Minister join their right hands together, and say,

“ Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.

“ Then shall the Minister speak unto the company :

“ Forasmuch as M. and N. have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before God and this company, and thereto have given and pledged their troth, each to the other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving a ring, and by joining hands ; I pronounce, that they are man and wife ; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

“ And the Minister shall add this blessing :

“ God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you: the Lord mercifully with his favour look upon you, and fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace ; that ye may so live together in this life, that in the world to come ye have life everlasting. Amen.”

If the two passages naming the Three Persons distinctly were so far varied as to name them collectively, and the final blessing were borrowed from that of the

people of Israel which concludes the Visitation of the Sick, none would be losers, and many would be saved what they deem a painful compromise.

In the Visitation of the Sick, the 130th Psalm is put instead of the 71st Psalm: and the 'Absolution' is entirely left out.

In the Burial Service, the Americans use an anthem, taken from the 39th and 90th Psalms, instead of the whole of those psalms. "To take out of this world" is used instead of "To take unto himself." "Looking for the general resurrection in the last day" is substituted for "in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." In the last prayer, the Americans leave out "As our hope is this our brother doth;" and for the last prayer but one, have substituted another, and direct the Minister to say one or both of these prayers at his discretion. This new prayer is the same as ours, at the beginning; but, after "felicity," runs thus: "We give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And we beseech Thee, that we, with all those who are departed in the true faith of thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The first American rubric for the Churching of Women gives the choice of that service, or the concluding prayer only, as it stands among the Occasional Prayers.

The Commination is left out entirely. Much might be said about this service. It is often true that men dare

not look upon sin in its proper shape, because their consciences are thereby stricken. How many of the worst acts which we ought to censure are palliated because we have ourselves "committed them in our hearts!" We dare not, for instance, assign to a fair duellist his proper name, because we ourselves, in other cases, burn incense to his idol. Much of this proceeds from trusting in ourselves; and the exceeding purity of the Gospel, well set forth in some such a service as this Communion, would surely tend to convince us of our own helplessness, and turn us to Him who is strong to save. And such a Communion Service would be well supported by some public profession of faith in church, at or consequent upon the baptism or confirmation of children by themselves or their sponsors: for the length of the present service, or some other reason, is now permitted to render nugatory the directions in the first rubric. And yet the baptism of an infant is indeed a solemn ceremony, full of meaning, every point of which might be made useful in putting each Christian in remembrance of his own profession. A kindlier appeal to the heart, a more wholesome corrective of worldly-mindedness, could not easily be found, than the presenting or otherwise commemorating in church all the children baptized in the preceding week.

Whatever strength the objections usually made to the Communion Service may have in themselves, such objections are not rested on exactly the same grounds as those which have been urged against the Athanasian Creed. It is indeed too often the truth, that this service, in the present state of morals, is turned to mischief. But our elders have thought such a service might



amend our manners: and reasons which will not hold when pushed to extremes, may yet be good to a great extent. Augustin has said, "*Meliores sunt quos dirigit amor; plures sunt quos corrigit timor.*" Supposing fear be not an advisable motive in itself, yet a fear of things that ought to be feared may hope to end in the love of things that ought to be loved. As every passion of our nature is capable of being abused, it is also capable of being used. It is the admission of an indefinite will to shape ourselves after some better and higher model that is prospered into continual and increasing assimilation to that model. If we were not to say or do any thing which we knew was better than suited our character, if we were not in one sense to act a part, hushing those remonstrances of conscience, which make a pride of sin and one strong hold of iniquity, we could not be improved; for the character of Christian excellence is not passive, but active: we could not even pray; for our real prayers take and give the stamp of our lives.

In the Forms of Prayer at Sea, "direct" is used for "prevent:" and there are added to the book, "Forms of Prayer for the Visitation of Prisoners," and "Thanksgiving for the Fruits of the Earth;" and also two excellent Forms for Morning and Evening Prayer for Families, in the same manner as was observed in our early Prayer Books: see Barker's edition, printed before the Savoy Conference. Strype's Life of Abp. Parker, i. 169.

There are fifty-seven Hymns added to the American Prayer Book, as set forth by authority for Church use.

The Church in America necessarily drew a line between Spiritual and temporal authority, ante, p. 204: and it might be well considered, how far there might

here be adopted some clause, in the spirit of this separation between temporal and Spiritual authority, requiring all Protestants and Papists who take office in England to pledge their personal service and their money to their native land, and to declare that they will not lend any aid in mind or body or pay any money to any foreign Power when forbidden to do so by the Powers that be at home, in order to supersede many penal enactments, and yet form a sufficient bulwark for the Church and State of England.

Many bishops and other high authorities have declared their belief, that a revision of the Bible, as now translated, with a view to give it more and more the purport and effect of the original languages, is expedient. See Bp. Marsh's Lectures, edition of 1828, pp. 298, 320. and Appen. p. 4.

Since the reign of James the First, whose wise and guarded rules may yield an useful precedent, many new sources of profitable information have been opened, and many have drunk at them deeply. The fact of inspiration in each Apostle at once substantiates the necessity for every use of every means of increasing useful learning for the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures.

Concerning the division of the Bible into verses, Lewis (Complete History of the Translations of the Bible into English, third edition, p. 210) has recorded the opinion of Isaac Casaubon, that "although he did not disapprove it, yet he doubted not but there might be another distinction of them far more commodious, if some great divine would undertake the restoring it; viz. that of the ancients, who so divided the several

books into titles, and those titles into their heads or chapters, that the division much helped or assisted the readers." Mills says, Proleg. 127, that Robert Stephens' 4th edition of the Greek Testament in 1551 was the first in which the text was numbered into those verses now in use. Stephens was then living in Geneva: and it is said that Bp. Coverdale and his friends published there an English translation in 1557, not only numbered into verses, but also distinctly divided into verses, and that there is a copy of this edition so divided in the Library at Lambeth. Matthew's Bible 1537, and another edition in 1539, divide into verses the Psalms only. Grafton's Bible in 1541 does not divide all the Psalms. Tyndale's Bible in 1549 is not divided into verses: nor is Jhon Day's in 1551. Jhon Cawoode's, a small quarto in 1561, divides the Psalms, and also the tenth and all subsequent chapters of Proverbs. Abp. Parker's and Jugge's Bibles, in 1568 and 1569, and 1572, are all divided into verses. Jugge's Bible of 1568 marks with "semicircles" the parts to be left "unread in the publique reading to the people, in order that more edifying chapters may come in their roomes." Coldock's Bible in 1575 and Barker's in 1578 are divided into verses. Strype says that in Abp. Parker's Bible, 8vo. 1569, r. 541, old paging 273, the "chapters are divided into verses, but no break in a chapter 'till the end thereof, and thinks this was the first English Bible printed with distinction of verses." And yet Strype says, ii. 221, old paging 403, that Abp. Parker's Bible of 1572 "seemed to him to be the first edition of the English Bible divided into verses, excepting perhaps that of Geneva."

## CHAP. XIV.

*Χαίρω μὲν ὁρῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν ὁμήγουριν.*

Constan. to the Nic. Council. EUSEB. III. 12.

THERE is an old low, shabby wall which runs off from the south side of the great west door-way into Westminster Abbey. This wall is only broken by one long wired window; and the whole appearance of the wall and window is so dull and dirty, that many strangers and inhabitants may well have wondered why they were allowed to encumber and deform this magnificent front. But that wall is the wall of the Jerusalem Chamber, and that guarded window is its principal light. The chamber itself appears about forty feet long and twenty feet wide, and was built in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. At this time, it is here that the Upper House of Convocation assemble each Parliament. In a sort of anti-room to it assemble the Lower House of Convocation, which anti-room is now called the Organ Room; because some time ago there was an organ in it, by which the choristers were accustomed to practise. The other side of the north wall of this room is "the Spiritual Court," under the south tower of the western front of the Abbey. To the west of the cloister, and to the south of the wall by which you enter into Poets'

Corner, is the Chapter House, where the Commons of England sat before the grant of St. Stephen's Chapel, in 1547; a proximity not without meaning.

In this Jerusalem Chamber any new Commissioners might sit, and acknowledge the genius of the place. Who would not rejoice to know that here or elsewhere were assembled kindly spirits, whose endeavours to amend our Liturgy might also bring back to the fold such wanderers as may yet have the inclination to join our Establishment? How much they would have to do with many parts of it before mentioned, with the Burial or Baptismal Services, the Canons or the Courts Christian, each reader may have formed his own opinion. It may be permitted us all to express our conviction, that if there would be much to be done, there would assuredly be fitting hands to do it all.

In the preceding pages, it has been my endeavour to avoid obtruding myself and my own opinion upon any one who might be reading them on account of the great interest of their subject matter. The wish to state all facts fairly, and conduct all arguments impartially, does not, however, secure its own accomplishment; and the attempt to discover truth does not imply success: any reader who may observe errors, and mis-statements, and undue partialities in this volume, may believe they would have been corrected had they been known to myself. Upon some parts of such a subject as the present, upon the Athanasian Creed and the question of Church Government in particular, it might be misconstrued, if all opinions were stated as those of some third person, and my own kept altogether out of view. And it is

entirely from this feeling, and not from any presumptuous over-valuation of the principles here now approved and adopted, that the following short statement is made as to these two principal points, which will explain, on most others mentioned in this volume, my own wishes and belief; and perhaps so tend to account for the shading and keeping of all previous sketches. It is most painful to find our notions so much better than our practice: and yet so it must be, when they are taken from the Bible. Nor can any writer pledge himself beyond the present time and conviction: whatever opinions he may have published may become suspicious to himself, and therefore be re-considered and so be found more or less erroneous, and abandoned accordingly. When men support an opinion upon any other ground than its own intrinsic worth, they become partisans; and must then be contented to derive from the staff of the few bruised reeds, with whom they may be associated in hollow uniformity for different purposes, the semblance of that support and strength, the reality of which can only be known to a free spirit and conscious honesty. The inquirers press on to their point: the partisan avoids discussion, and shrinks from committing himself; and insists upon the observance of every tedious form, the use of every conventional phrase. In process of time, his thoughts are put off and on, like the clothes of a fashionist; and his whole existence is in the observances to which he has enslaved himself. In such an uniform, all distinction of person and feature is lost: and great as this evil must be in every nation, it is exceedingly great in what should be a free nation. The

leagues of earth, when not cemented by the Word of God, are almost always against the Majesty of heaven. The purpose of one is resistance: the wisdom of the other inculcates submission: one says, "Be proud:" the other, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart." All party-spirit, properly so called, presupposes error on one side or ill-will on the other; and is incapable of defence until it is changed in character. Submission to the Powers that be, as such, until conscience refuse submission, cannot be party spirit; and has a high warrant, which cannot be claimed for opposition to the Powers that be, except where conscience may compel a reluctant acquiescence. Power may have a tendency to corrupt its possessors: but this does not justify the maintenance and organization of a systematic and wilful opposition.

The fear of lawful rulers is wholesome, and leads to free and reasonable service: and this service will be yielded in a cheerful and a devoted spirit, not grudgingly by every Christian, up to the pitch at which obedience to man is held inconsistent with obedience to God: and the ascertaining this pitch tends to draw each individual from his neighbour's mode of reasoning, and so far to isolate him, and deprive his cause of a method of support which has often given the worse cause a triumph. If a man can once get hold of the chain that connects him, as an individual sinner, with his Creator, his Redeemer, and his Sanctifier, it does not appear probable that he would then look in the first instance to his brethren for aid. His fellow creatures would, indeed, have a stamp on their foreheads, which he would with a thankful heart instantly recognise as giving to each of them a

share in his God, a value beyond all valuation : but it is not in them that he lives and moves and has his being ; but in Him who is with His own Church on earth, while earth shall last ; who became as one of us, and knew and knows what is in man : He is the sole friend that cannot fail in time of need, although such help as man may give and receive is always full of delight to both parties, and the secret of this help cannot but rest with them that fear the Lord. It may be from the weakness of human nature that the pious Christian has often pushed too far this direct holding of heaven every thought, word, and deed ; and so strained the relationship between himself and his fellow creatures on earth, which although only collateral, is yet near, and should be dear. And allowance must therefore be made for the ancient Presbyterians and Non-conformists, who could not see their own want of that charity towards others which they claimed from others towards themselves. They could not see, for instance, how wisely, in every sense of the word, our early Reformers retained some ceremonies and services of popery, from a fear of offending the weaker brethren, who held and hold them sacred up to the extreme point of conscience. Bp. Ridley's Life, 246. The Non-conformists thought, that doing a great deal at once was liberal, and proved a comprehensive spirit : but the churchmen wisely refrained from interference where it was not absolutely necessary ; deeming " liberal " and " comprehensive " most suspicious and dangerous words. It were better to legislate bit by bit, than to stretch the pendulum at once to the opposite height, and so leave it to swing from one extreme to the other, until it settle down, sooner or later, to its proper vibration. The Pres-



byterian party would not advance the few paces they might have gained, because they were prudently forbidden to take possession at once of the desired fortress. They would not among themselves agree to concert, in such a manner as is advisable for obtaining a well-meant end, their measures for obtaining that end, lest they should be suspected of an improper party spirit. Although embarked in one boat, they would not pull together; and seem to have pushed off from the shore without a steersman, without even a determinate point to steer to. They did indeed omit the tide; and so the voyage of their life was bound in shallows and miseries. As individuals, and as a body, they appear to have been little fitted for business; and to have imagined that their admitted sincerity was an admitted title to every concession they thought it required, and to have forgotten that there might be equal sincerity on the side of those who disputed the concessions. They who are well used to business, when they know their cause, and think themselves able to demonstrate its justice, are mostly willing to wave all collateral questions, and presume among their opponents a sincerity and a piety at least equal to their own. The Presbyterians and Non-conformists appear to have lost their cause, by advocating it as if other men had their consciences; and their opponents set down to the cause the fault of its advocates. If any Commission were now granted, the Commissioners would meet under a deep sense that there may be weakness and prejudice on every side: and their Commission might be in the most general terms held prudent; and be so much more than the one which convened the Commis-

sioners in the Jerusalem Chamber, as may enable them to report what changes in the laws affecting the church and clergy, more especially what method of abrogating the present canons they have calculated upon, in recommending such changes in the Liturgy as they may agree to recommend. It is so, that their report may best form a consistent whole, and provide a satisfactory basis for further proceedings in Parliament; or before the Privy Council, as preparatory to discussion in Parliament.

If strong language be here desired, let each reader use what seems to him the strongest that may be respectful, for expressing my own wish to discard the Creed of St. Athanasius from our public service to the best of my knowledge. If, before those Commissioners, better reasons be shewn, in their judgment, for retaining the creed than shall be shewn for discarding it, let it be retained. The principal and immediate objection is to the damnatory clauses, which, however limited and construed, pronounce sentence against themselves, by requiring so much limitation and construction. It seems to me an awful presumption to go so far beyond our province, as to dictate and legislate in some matters set forth in the Athanasian Creed; which, because they are revealed, might well be allowed, in these times, to rest on the letter of Revelation, according to the judgment of each reader. Men may think they somewhat understand how a child might obtain some notion of what was going on, if he could be so placed as to see at work the machinery of some gifted mind. Excepting only the principle of life, men may in part comprehend the frame-

work of the thousand insects that people a drop of water. In such instances, all can acknowledge the same Providence that rings the planets and measures out the existence of numberless systems, and by the same process of thought: but to dogmatize about the irreversible sentence which shall be pronounced against erroneous opinions, on the supposition that they contravene the word of God, or must lead to erroneous practice in despite of man's inconsistencies; and to reason upon the things of Almighty God, which He hath not referred to us to state them, and draw conclusions from such statement; is most dangerous in every way; and more dangerous in the degree in which the mind, so exercised, may be stronger than others. It is at least suspicious, when what should be more and more productive of increasing good is rendered more and more absolutely mischievous. We should not insist overmuch upon mere words, however useful, as exact and studied compendiums of truth. Undoubtedly, the more remote from other use, the more exclusive and artificial these compendiums may be, the more will they be exact, and deserving of general acceptance. Be it granted that the wit of man cannot better express the truth, as it appears to our church, in fewer words than by saying, "The Catholic faith is this, That we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." Yet many Christians object to the sign, while they believe the Gospel to be in substance what that exclusive and arbitrary sign has been adopted to express: and the substance is God's; the sign is the invention of man. Now, the substance in this case is not so inseparable from the sign, that he who disclaims the

sign must thereby be taken to disclaim also the thing signified. Human temper and intellect must indeed be purified and amended, before such an inference can be drawn justly. While on earth, we shall always have to bear with one another's infirmities. Our Bibles tell us who may be saved ; and press home to our hearts the free promise of salvation, and the effects of its acceptance. The word that God hath spoken, the same shall judge every man in the last day. It is our business to proclaim the glad tidings of great joy to all that name the name of Jesus, and live according to His word ; and to warn evil-doers of their folly ; to endeavour, with all singleness of heart, that the will of God may be done in earth as it is in heaven. When He who had and has all power in earth and heaven was asked, " Are there few that be saved ? " He replied, " Strive to enter in at the strait gate : " and shall man not only answer in direct terms the question put, but also make narrower that gate to weak understandings ?

" Merciful Heaven !

Thou rather, with thy sharp and sulphurous bolt,  
 Splittest the unwedgeable and gnarled oak,  
 Than the soft myrtle. O but man, proud man,  
 Drest in a little brief authority,  
 Most ignorant of what he's most assured,"  
 " Plays such fantastick tricks before high Heaven,  
 As make the Angels weep."

This contrast of the oak and myrtle does indeed involve a serious error in the imputation of human pride to the great God : but, under such circumstances, who would throw the first stone ? A straining heart may haplessly fail to bring every pulse into subjection ;

cannot always measure its comparisons ; so that not only shall their principal purpose be answered, but every collateral intendment also be true. On the Poet who, for dramatic effect, has given this burst of passion such glorious existence, and so recorded an implication that our God may be even such an one as ourselves, let each reader individually pronounce sentence ; and then let him imagine an extreme case, in which men are desirous to command fire to come down from heaven and consume those who will not receive the Lord Jesus. In such an extreme case the answer is given : “Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.” And what then are the reasons for which any Church, when the case is not and cannot be so extreme as that of the Samaritan Villagers, a Church which believes that the Powers of hell shall not be allowed to prevail against it, which is not required to publish any sentence against opinions, which is required to set life and death before evil-doers, should so “command fire from” heaven, that it may probably strike the shrinking and softened penitent, the friend and half proselyte to the Athanasian Creed, and by its menaces almost certainly deprive him of the fittest shelter in the pelting and pitiless storm ; while the bolts blaze idly round the heads of the gnarled and the unwedgeable opponents of that same Athanasian Creed.

Upon the question of Church Government, it is not probable any great difficulties would arise. If personal responsibility be imposed upon the bishop and his archbishop, a commensurate power should be vested in them. It is agreed on all hands, that, in the main, Englishmen now have reason to be thankful for their present Church

government, although the detail might be improved. A religion separate from an Establishment and due subordination of rank is unintelligible, when more than one person is to profess that religion; for the same reason that an individual's religion can only be collected from his conduct. The sea itself has its shores. Of the Church on earth we cannot talk practically, but must refer to some branch of it established in definite form and rendered part of the visible Church: and the Church of England appears to me the best form, on religious and also on political grounds.

On religious grounds, because it appears entirely consistent with Scripture, so far as Scripture provides a model; and when and where Scripture fails us from its generality, consistent with the good and ancient rules and models of primitive Christianity; while, when freed from certain incumbrances and spots, it would be "fair to look upon:" its "tents were goodly," and it would do its work on earth effectually.

On political grounds, because it tends directly to honour the King, and maintain unimpaired his powers and prerogative. The prerogative of the King ought to be guarded, for his own honour; and also for the advantage of his people, to whom it is of more service than it can be rendered to himself. There is much to fear from the insubordination of the people, and the ignorance or selfishness of their advisers; and little to fear from the probabilities of a tyranny. Under the good blessing of our God, England may well be likened to a pyramid: he who strikes at the head of it, because the weight is on the lower ranks, evidently knows how to begin the work of demolition. Any, the lightest want of respect

due to the King and those in authority under him, is to me a departure from the lessons inculcated by the King of kings. And if there be any who will misconstrue such a declaration, and suspect the professions of sincere regard for the people founded thereupon, it cannot be proved with what degree of truth any individuals may be making such a declaration and such professions, or disclaiming them : it may not be known in this world which of these differing individuals are the true hearts on earth, which are the real friends of the people ; but it is certain, that both sides may mean to be so ; and that which were so, must in a few short years be known, when earth itself shall have passed away, and its myriads hear the last trumpet, and be ranging themselves on the right hand or on the left hand of the Son of God.

The differences among men on earth, in regard to their religion, appear indeed most important, and of a most dangerous magnitude : and yet this may be the result of our own ignorance and littleness : and will not justify so direct an appeal to the power of Heaven, as that which we are apt to make in almost childish impotence. The false colouring on many a scene is altogether in the mind of the spectator ; and the disproportionate size of many an object is only the result of a diseased vision. The souls that shall be preparing to meet their Judge, will rejoice to find that all the jarring inconsistencies and inexplicable contradictions which harass them are daily clearing up in a greater or less degree. They will not seek occasion to utter unkindly disapproval of their erring brethren, or to enforce such distinctions as mar the Church on earth. For others, as well as for themselves, they will pray

that each expression of every thought may be correct, and correctly taken ; and that the veil may be removed from every mind and every heart : every notion on all sides should be full of love and truth among those who seek admittance into the Communion of Saints, made perfect, and though now they see through a glass darkly, yet hope to be made like unto God, and see Him as He is. The substantial end to which the Church on earth addresses itself, is, “glory to God in the highest; and on earth, peace, good will towards men:” the object of its institutions and ceremonies is, that all things be done decently and in order. And to this end and this object the seasonable means are to be used, as conducive thereto. To value means more than the end, to prize expressions of faith and forms of worship, more than the worship itself and its essential blessings, were to contravene the spirit of the second commandment. And it is most observable, that one of the most affectionate books in the whole Bible is wound up with a solemn warning against idolatry. Let us then keep ourselves from every idol, and listen thankfully to the aged Apostle whom the Lord Jesus loved. We do not indeed change the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man : we do not directly bow down to such an idol, and worship it : but let us take good heed unto ourselves, that we do not, in other instances, less flagrant perhaps, and yet not less sinful in this our day, depart from the living God, and “change His truth into a lie, and worship and serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.”

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